

# The Art Bulletin

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FIG. 1—ABOU GIRGEH (ALEXANDRIA), CRYPT: HEAD OF CHRIST

## The Sources of Mediæval Style<sup>1</sup>

By C. R. MOREY



THE origins of mediæval art must be sought in the late antique, and of recent years these origins have been obscured by three conflicting theories accounting for the phenomenon of the late antique itself. Wickhoff sought to prove that its vital characteristic was a realistic rendering which he called "illusionism," injected into Hellenistic tradition by the Romans; Riegl saw in late antique style the growth of an "optic point of view," a process whereby the artist, so to speak, moved further and further away from the subject to be depicted; Strzygowski feels that the art of the Nearer East (Syria, Persia, Mesopotamia, Armenia) is chiefly responsible for the undeniable difference existing between early and late Greco-Roman work.

As often happens, these theories have been held and applied by the followers of these scholars in a manner perhaps more uncompromising than that adopted by the protagonists themselves. Thus Rodenwaldt,<sup>2</sup> following Wickhoff, finds the Pompeian landscape to be a Roman invention, while Wulff has been so loyal to Strzygowski's theory that in his recent *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst* he attributes nearly all the unattached monuments of Early Christian art to a Syrian school for which no real evidence has been produced.<sup>3</sup>

We have erred, it seems to me, in considering these theories to be mutually exclusive. Everyone can see that when Hellenistic style is adapted to Roman taste it becomes realistic; everyone realizes that when it comes in contact with the Orient it acquires new interest in play of light and dark. There is no reason why it should not have done both. And neither phenomenon contradicts Riegl's observation of the growth in Hellenistic art of the optic point of view.<sup>4</sup>

The truth of Riegl's generalization is evident to any close student of the antique monuments from the first to the sixth century A. D. A gradual change is manifest in both painting and sculpture from actual modelling to a flat surface on which the illusion of form is produced by contrast of light and dark. But what Riegl did not observe is that this evolution does not proceed in similar fashion throughout the extent of late antique

<sup>1</sup>Some words of apology are needed in presenting this paper to the readers of *The Art Bulletin*. In the first place, it covers a long period of art history in very summary fashion, and the reader will feel at times that my statements need more demonstration than is afforded by the brief notes. Such demonstration may be expected in further articles that will deal with the separate phases of the evolution here traced.

Again, to many this will sound like a paper on the style of mediæval illuminated manuscripts, since my material is mainly drawn from this field. The reason for this is the peculiar suitability of mediæval illumination as material for the study of style. It is continuous, with none of the long lacunæ that break the continuity of sculpture and frescoes. Also, it is more faithful to its models, with a consequently greater value as an indication of stylistic source. On the other hand, the miniatures of manuscripts are equally dependable, if properly analyzed, as examples of period.

Lastly, this is a paper of most composite authorship, since the hypothesis of the evolution of early mediæval art which it presents is the result not only of my own studies but of those of a number of colleagues and friends. The beginning of it lies in the categories of Early Christian Iconography established by E. Baldwin Smith. The work of A. M. Friend and Ernest Dewald has helped to smooth the rough going between the Hellenistic style and the peculiar forms of Carolingian, Ottonian, and Anglo-Saxon art. Mr. W. F. Stohlman has given much assistance on the early Asiatic influence in Italy. Dr. Walter Cook has made it possible properly to catalogue the mediæval style of Spain, and at one very important point in the evolution I am borrowing from a forthcoming paper by Miss Myrtila Avery on the Alexandrian style at S. Maria Antiqua.

<sup>2</sup>G. Rodenwaldt, *Komposition der pompejanischen Wandgemälde*, Berlin, 1909, p. 26 ff.

<sup>3</sup>O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und Byzantinische Kunst*, I (in Burger's *Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft*).

<sup>4</sup>A. Riegl, *Die spätromische Kunst-industrie*, Vienna, 1901, ch. II.



art, but progresses toward one artistic ideal in Greece and Asia, and toward quite another in Egypt and the Latin West. In the one case it tends toward abstract representation and decorative design; in the other toward realistic representation alone. That is to say, the color contrast which supplants the modelling or drawing of the figure produces in Asia a decorative *chiaroscuro*, which goes by Strzygowski's name of colorism; in Egypt and the Latin West the same color contrast is used to produce a vivid effect of actual existence, without reference to decorative considerations. This is Wickhoff's "illusionism."<sup>1</sup> Our difficulties have arisen from the insistence of all three scholars on the *unity* of late Hellenistic art, so that it had to be all coloristic, or all illusionistic in essence, and anything which did not conform to this characterization was considered outside of the essential trend.

But Hellenistic art is not a unit from the first century B. C. on, since it divides into two clearly marked and distinguished currents, one of which centered in Athens and the other apparently in Alexandria.

Dickins<sup>2</sup> has shown the conservative character of Hellenistic sculpture in Athens itself, the academic style of the Attic sculptors who worked in Italy is well-known, and the same clinging to the forms of the fourth and fifth centuries B. C. can be found in Attic sarcophagi of the second century of the Empire. Recent investigation of the Asiatic sarcophagi<sup>3</sup> has shown that this long series of monuments, which illustrates the art of Asia Minor from the middle of the second century to the end of the fourth, commenced as an outgrowth of the Neo-Attic style, at Ephesus. It never ceased throughout its history to imitate the formulæ of classic sculpture of the fifth and particularly the fourth century B. C., although the shift from form to color noted above flattened its planes and conventionalized its design.

The principles as well as the formulæ of classic style are followed in these Asiatic sarcophagi (Fig. 2). The compositions are two-dimensional and have no depth in space; action is rendered from left to right or *vice versa* but seldom inward or outward. The background is either neutral, as in classic relief, or decorated as a wall with niches, which are crowned with gabled or arched pediments and usually filled with conches. This architectural or neutral background, and the persistence of classic formulæ for the figure—especially those of Praxiteles—are the characteristic symptoms of the Neo-Attic style.

The spread of this style in Asia Minor can be seen by a map (Fig. 3) showing where the Asiatic sarcophagi, its chief exponents, have been found. The latest known example of these sarcophagi is a fragment in Berlin (Fig. 4), dating c. 400 and exhibiting a cross-nimbed beardless Christ with long hair falling on His shoulders, standing between two apostles who repeat a favorite philosopher type used in the workshops of Asia for centuries before and after the date of the Berlin fragment. In the fifth and sixth centuries the style persists in the illustrated manuscripts of Asia Minor and Syria. In the Vienna Genesis (Fig. 5) it is mixed with illusionism in a manner that indicates, as does the iconography, that the manuscript was copied from an Alexandrian original.<sup>4</sup> But in the Gospel of Rossano (Fig. 6) and the Codex Sinopensis we have the pure Neo-Attic, with its usual

<sup>1</sup>F. Wickhoff, *Die Wiener Genesis*, Vienna, 1895, ch. IV.

<sup>2</sup>Guy Dickins, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, pp. 54 and 75 ff.

<sup>3</sup>C. R. Morey, *Sardis*, V, pt. I; *The Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina and the Asiatic sarcophagi*, Princeton, 1924.

<sup>4</sup>That the miniatures of the Vienna Genesis are copied from an earlier original is of course probable in any case. The constant division of the miniatures into two strips, and the twisting of the composition from the upper strip down into the lower, as appears in the miniature of Jacob's wrestling with the angel, point to a rotulus as the model and suggest something of the character of the Rotulus of Joshua in the Vatican Library. The use of personifications, as in the Genesis, is very rare in Early Christian art outside of Egypt, if one makes exception of the most stereotyped ones. The upward cast of the flying fold that appears here and there in the Genesis miniatures is a feature that is persistently Egyptian. The forked stake used in the hanging of the baker in the miniature of Pharaoh's Feast recurs in the execution of the kings in the Rotulus of Joshua. The head of Jacob in the final scenes is strongly remin-





FIG. 2—CONSTANTINOPLE, OTTOMAN MUSEUM: SARCOPHAGUS FROM SIDAMARA



FIG. 3—MAP SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE ASIATIC SARCOPHAGI

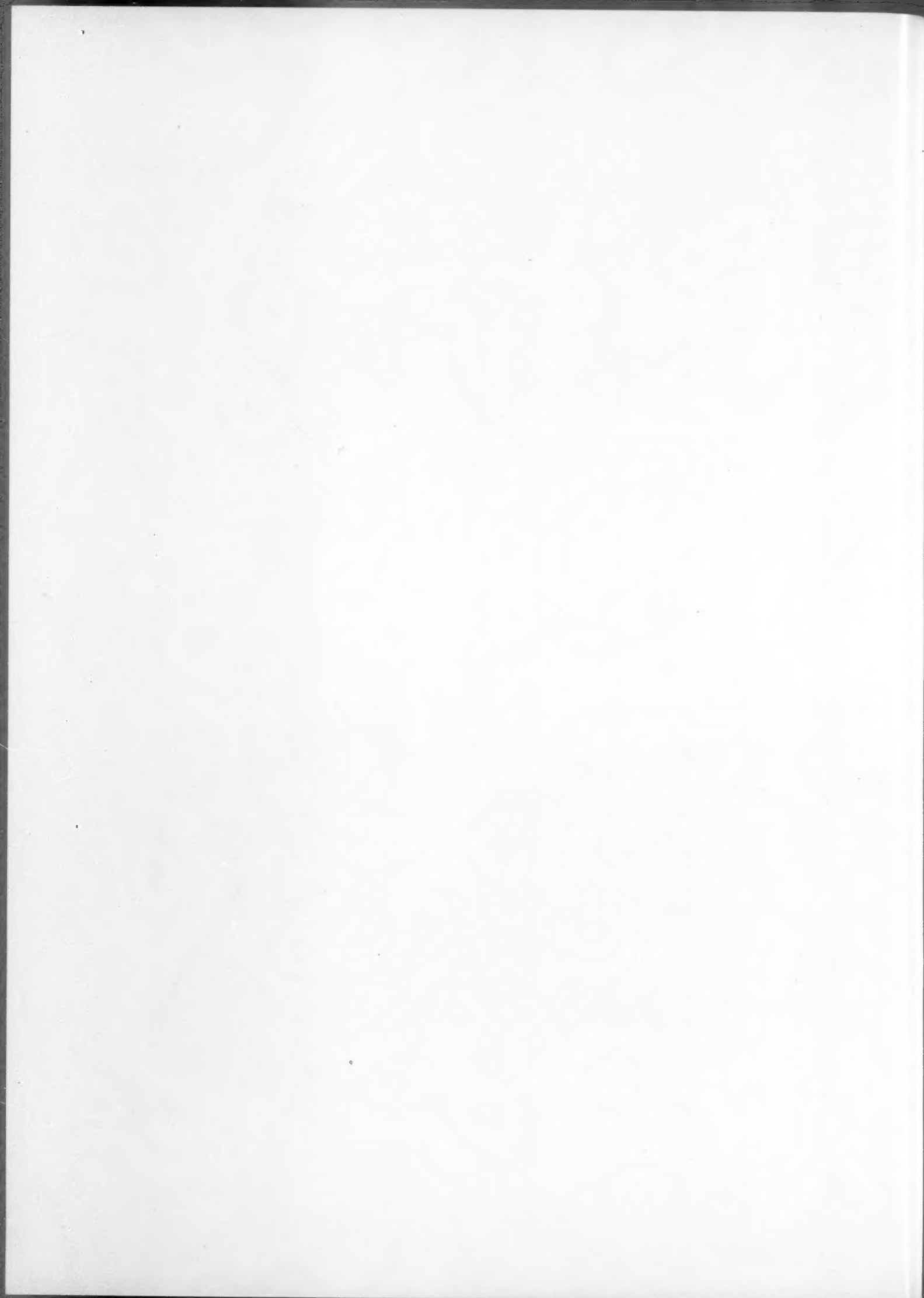




FIG. 4 — BERLIN, KAISER FRIEDRICH MUSEUM: FRAGMENT OF A SARCOPHAGUS



FIG. 5—VIENNA, STAATSBIBLIOTHEK: 'VIENNA GENESIS, DETAIL OF FOL. X V. LABAN SEARCHING THE TENTS



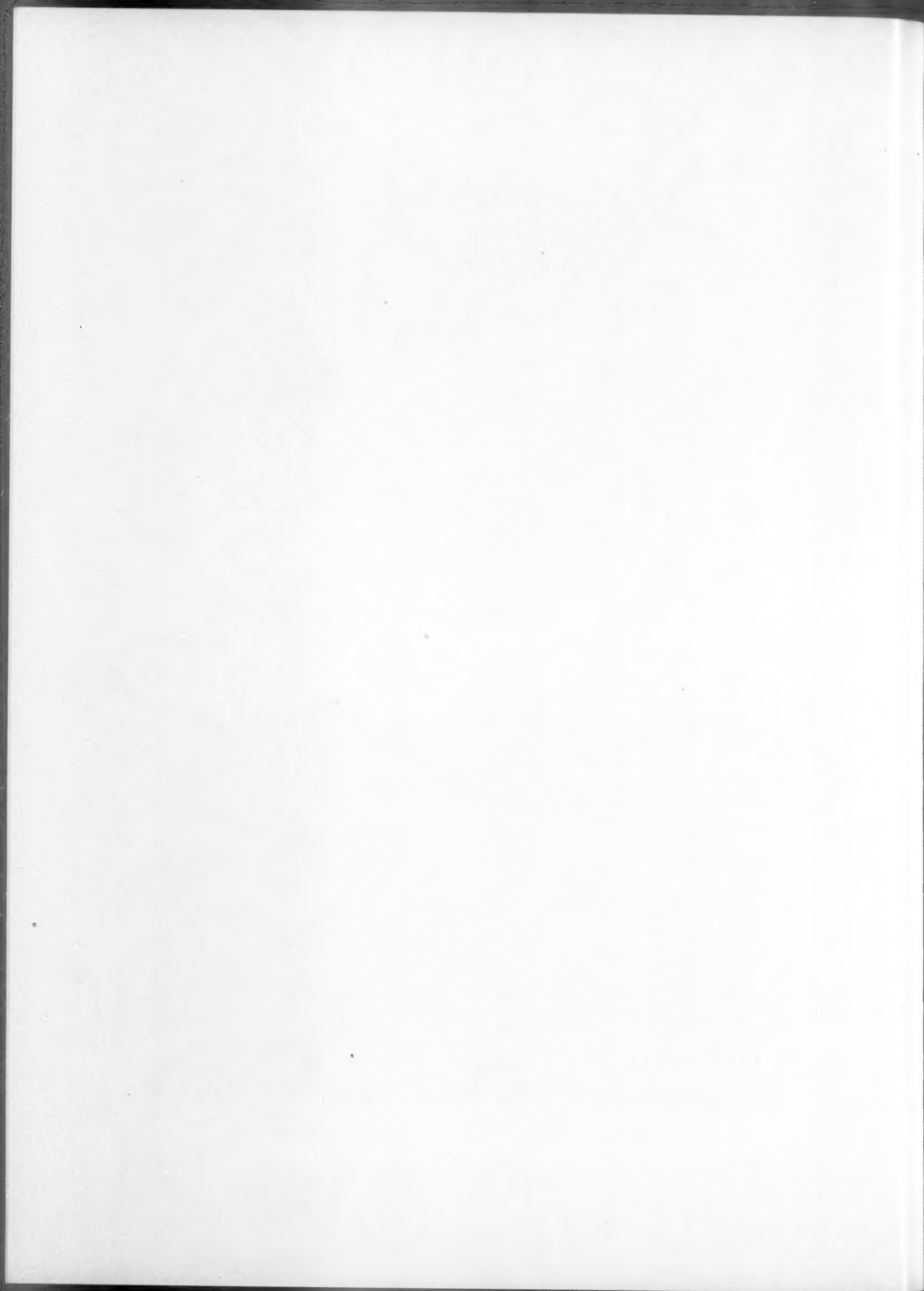




FIG. 6—ROSSANO, CATHEDRAL: CODEX ROSSANENSIS, FOL. I R. RAISING OF LAZARUS



FIG. 7—ROSSANO, CATHEDRAL: CODEX ROSSANENSIS, FOL. CXXI R.  
ST. MARK

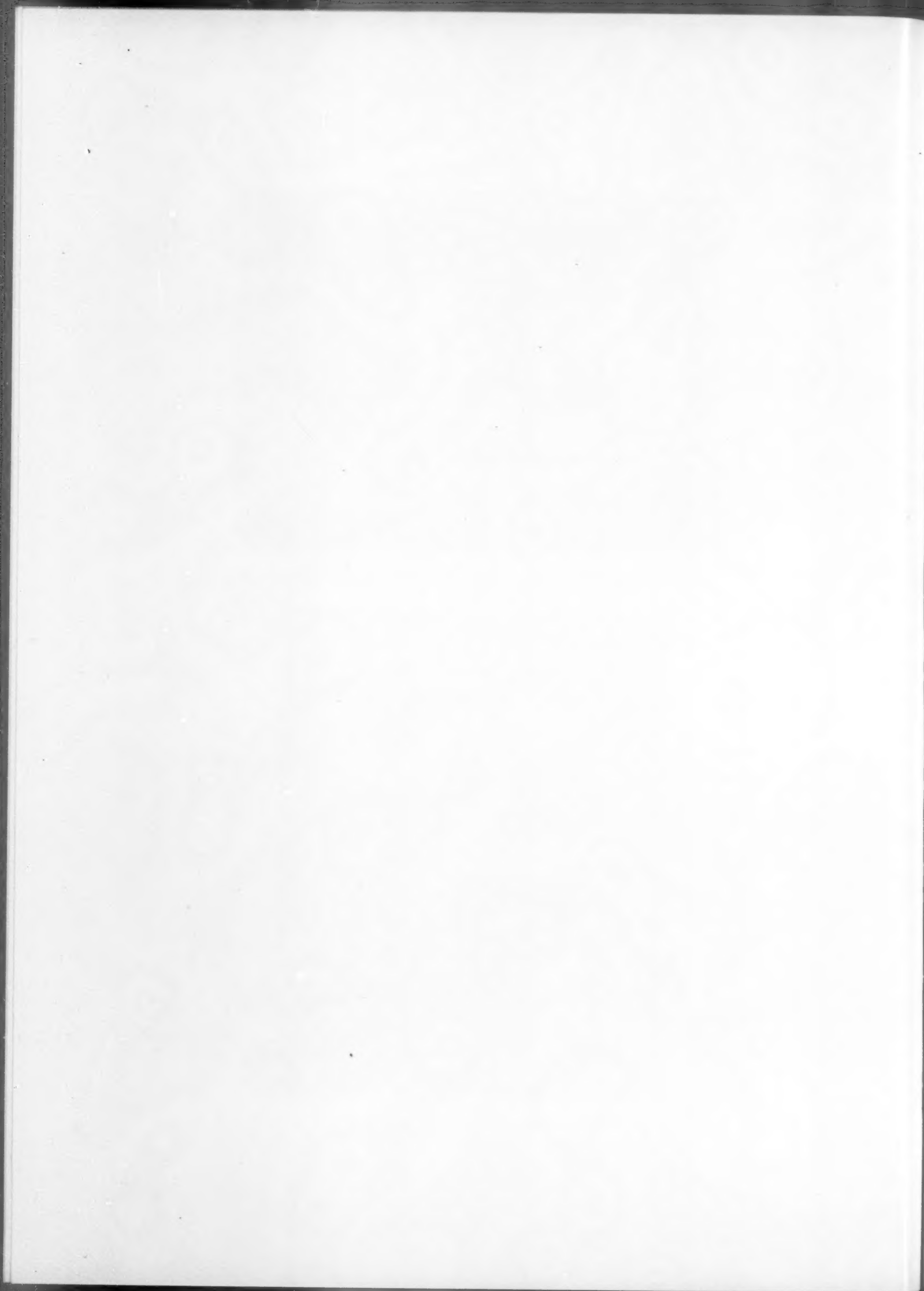






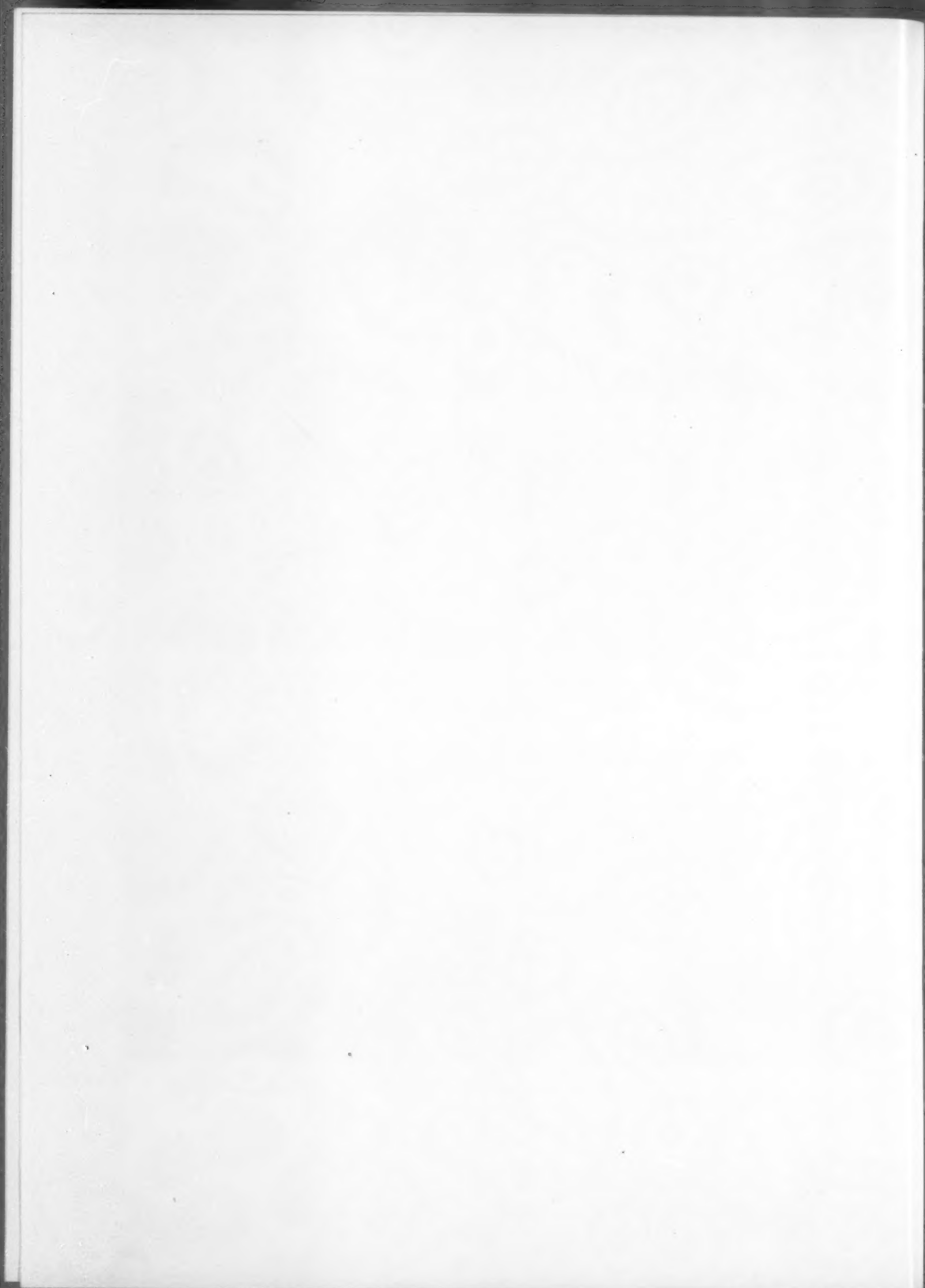
FIG. 8—FLORENCE, BIBL. LAURENZIANA: RABULA GOSPEL. COMMUNION; ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM



FIG. 9—FLORENCE, BIBL. LAURENZIANA: RABULA GOSPEL. ASCENSION



FIG 10—Bawīt, CHAPEL XXVIII: COPTIC FRESKO. BLACHERNIOTISSA



neutral background, and its timeworn formulæ for posture and movement. These last constitute the artist's real vocabulary, and he is very awkward with new gestures or movements that require original rendering, being unable to represent with dignity and beauty save in the limited Neo-Attic scale. To this he owes his figures of apostles that repeat the familiar philosopher type of the sarcophagi. From this again he draws his notion of the portrait of the evangelist (Fig. 7), which is the old seated poet of the sarcophagi, rendered so faithfully that he retains the female figure who always stood in front of the poet, and tries rather helplessly to imitate as well the arch-and-gable background which accompanied such figures in the sarcophagus reliefs.<sup>1</sup>

This style of the Asiatic manuscripts seems to have centered in Cappadocia.<sup>2</sup> Thence it passed into the Christian art of Syria and Mesopotamia, so that we find in the Gospel of Rabula (Fig. 8) at the end of the sixth century an abbreviation of the scenes of the Gospel of Rossano, and a stiffer version of its style, while in two of its pages (Fig. 9) we meet with actual copies<sup>3</sup> from some Greek manuscript of the Rossanensis type. From Syria, in the sixth century, the Asiatic style is transferred to Coptic Egypt (Fig. 10), in the wake of the strong ecclesiastic and dogmatic *rapprochement* which united the monophysite churches of Syria and the Nile. Coptic art in its early stages is a feeble reflection of the illusionism of Alexandria; under Syrian influence it loses what naturalism it had obtained from Alexandria and gradually drops into an abstract and angular design both in figures and ornament. Our frontispiece illustrates a fresco recently discovered at Alexandria in which the head of Christ furnishes an excellent example of Syrian influence in Egypt. The head is of the same peculiar type as that found in the Syrian miniatures of the Rabula Gospel (Fig. 8).

Syria was, as has been amply shown by Strzygowski, the transmitter to Mediterranean Hellenism of Oriental ideas that had belonged to the tradition of Persia and Mesopotamia. He has recently assigned the same rôle to Armenia. Through this channel passed the new ideas in architectural design and construction which were needed in the transformation of late Hellenistic architecture from buildings composed as exteriors to buildings composed as interiors.

iscent of his head as it appears in the Joseph scenes on the cathedra of Maximianus. The most important evidence in this respect is furnished by the "illusionism" of the miniatures, which is quite absent from the other members of the group of manuscripts to which it belongs, and impresses one as derivative rather than original. There cannot be a great difference of date between the Genesis and the Asiatic Codex of Rossano, yet the latter is strongly Neo-Attic, and of the same school. Such discrepancies, and the reminiscences of Alexandrian style and iconography that keep recurring in the Genesis miniatures, would be amply explained if the Vienna manuscript be considered a copy after an Alexandrian rotulus. To consider it otherwise is to isolate it as the only illustrated manuscript of an Old Testament text, in the Early Christian period, that is not connected in one way or another with Alexandria.

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Fig. 7 with Fig. 2.

<sup>2</sup>One of the manuscripts of the Rossanensis group (the Petrograd fragment, un-illustrated) came from Sainsaqli in Cappadocia. The third apostle who bears a distinctive type in the Rossanensis, in addition to Peter and Paul, is identified by Muñoz with St. Andrew, the apostle of Cappadocia. The style and iconography of the Rossanensis and its congeners find their logical continuation in the frescoes of the churches of Cappadocia.

<sup>3</sup>Heisenberg's attempt to show that the two pages of the Gospel of Rabula that contain the three miniatures of the Crucifixion, Ascension (Fig. 9), and Resurrection, were later additions, is to be met with the observation that these folios are not the only ones that are pasted in, there being three folios thus fastened. The Christ type of some of these full-page miniatures is the same as the peculiar one used in the marginal miniatures of the text, showing that they are contemporary with the latter. There is no reason therefore to consider the three miniatures above-mentioned as later additions, particularly as their borders are similar in ornamental *motifs* to the ornament used throughout the manuscript.

The full-page miniatures are thus contemporary with the marginal miniatures of the text. Yet in the Crucifixion, Resurrection, and Ascension, the style and iconography show a marked divergence from those of the marginal miniatures and of Syrian monuments we know. The Ascension shows a standing Christ, while the Syrian type of the Ascension, to judge from the representations of the scene on the Monza phials, shows the Saviour seated on a throne. The Christ of the marginal miniatures is of a peculiar type as above-noted, the head having a triangular effect derived from the pointed small beard, and the horizontal protrusion of the hair. On the other hand, the type of the figure of Christ in the Resurrection is singularly like that of the Codex Rossanensis. The key to the difficulty is furnished by the misspelled Greek label ΑΟΤΙΝΟC used in the Crucifixion; we are evidently confronted with the work of a Syrian artist copying a Greek miniature in some manuscript of the Asia Minor school that produced the Gospel of Rossano.



But if the Mediterranean basin needed help from Persia and Mesopotamia in building, it needed none in representative art, in which it already had the most accomplished tradition the world has ever known. Syria therefore, however much she may have borrowed and passed on from the Nearer East to Asia Minor and the West in the matter of architecture, was wholly receptive in the matter of figure style, which she took from Asia Minor (Fig. 11). Her only contribution was to deprive the Asiatic figures of what life was still left in them, and to reduce the old Asiatic architectural background into an illogical frame for representation. A "Syrian" school, if one means by that a creative center of representative art, never existed. Aside from the transmission of architectural innovations, it was in ornament alone that the Oriental genius enriched the Hellenistic vocabulary, and in such lacework as that which covers the Syrian façade from Mschatta (Fig. 12) in Berlin one sees the Oriental temperament playing with Greek design to the end of a bewildering *chiaroscuro*, and substituting a rhythmic principle, after the manner of Moorish ornament, for the stable and structural unity of Greek composition. So also, even in Greek manuscripts like the Gospel of Rossano, the Oriental influence is sufficient to undermine that ideal and simultaneous rendering of a theme which is Greek, and to substitute instead a narrative composition that tells its story from left to right. This much, and no more, may be ascribed in Early Christian sculpture and painting to "Oriental influence," *pace* Strzygowski. And this influence is not that of a "school," but merely one of point of view; the figure style, and even the *motifs* of ornament (with a few exceptions such as the crenellation, the whorl, the prevalence of the vine, and the like) are Greek.

The Asiatic style, with its faithful conservation of classic formulæ, may be traced in Asia Minor to the tenth century through the Anatolian miniatures of the so-called Monastic Psalters (Fig. 13),<sup>1</sup> and the earlier frescoes of the churches of Cappadocia. In these we find repeated the iconographic types of the Gospel of Rossano and of the Greek miniatures of the Rabula Gospel. We find the style travelling abroad, not merely to Coptic Egypt, but to Italy as well, where it is represented in the sixth century at Rome by the well-known apse mosaic of SS. Cosmas and Damian, and in the sixth and seventh centuries in the mosaics of Ravenna (Fig. 14). In the eighth century we meet it in unmistakable form, accompanied by Greek inscriptions, in the frescoes of S. Saba on the Aventine.<sup>2</sup> It is used at S. Maria Antiqua from the sixth century to the tenth, with a significant exception which will be noted later on.

<sup>1</sup>The connection of the Monastic Psalters with Asia Minor is confirmed by iconography. Tikkanen, listing in his *Psalterillustrationen des Mittelalters* the Early Christian types that survive in the Monastic Psalters, mentions the following: (1), the Pillar of Fire; (2), the clothing of Christ with the colobium in the Crucifixion; (3), the shape given to the Holy Sepulchre; (4), the scene of Job on the ash heap; (5), the Judgment of the Kings of Canaan; (6), the Ascension of Elijah; (7), a shepherd playing upon a lyre; (8), Jonah in the jaws of the sea monster. To his list may be added (9), the beardless type used for Moses. Of these, the only ones that are used to a sufficient extent in extant Early Christian monuments to afford a test for provenance are (1), (2), (4), (6), and (9). (1), (4), (6), (9) are used exclusively, or almost exclusively, on the columnar Christian sarcophagi of the fourth and fifth centuries, or on monuments that can be shown to belong iconographically or artistically to their tradition. The columnar sarcophagi, on the other hand, exhibit a cycle of iconographic types that are different from those traditional in the Latin West, and at the same time these sarcophagi continue artistic types of decoration that we know were traditional in Asia Minor. The inference must be that their iconographic cycle is Anatolian as well (see note 30). Type (2), the colobium in the Crucifixion, is familiar to us from the Crucifixion of the Gospel of Rabula, and the Psalters also preserve the type of the Distribution of the Bread and Wine used in the Codex Rossanensis. The cycle of subjects used in the Monastic Psalters is therefore Anatolian in origin, and their style is consistent with this conclusion, being a degenerate form of the Neo-Attic flat manner, without backgrounds and with conventional movements and draperies, which is used in the Rossanensis and the allied monuments.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV-XIII Jahrhundert*, IV, pls. 169-171 and 188, 189. With other similarities to Asiatic works, one may note the broad and straight-lined cross in the nimbus of Christ, and the close relation shown by His attitude, movement, and proportions to the Asiatic type used in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, Paris gr. 510 (Fig. 15). Baldwin Smith, in his *Early Christian Iconography and a School of Ivory Carvers in Provence*, has collected the parallels to the fresco of San Saba that represents the Healing of the Paralytic (Table VII); the Asiatic origin of this conception of the scene is pointed out on page 106 of his book.



FIG. 11—ETCHMIADZIN, MONASTIC LIBRARY: ETCHMIADZIN GOSPEL

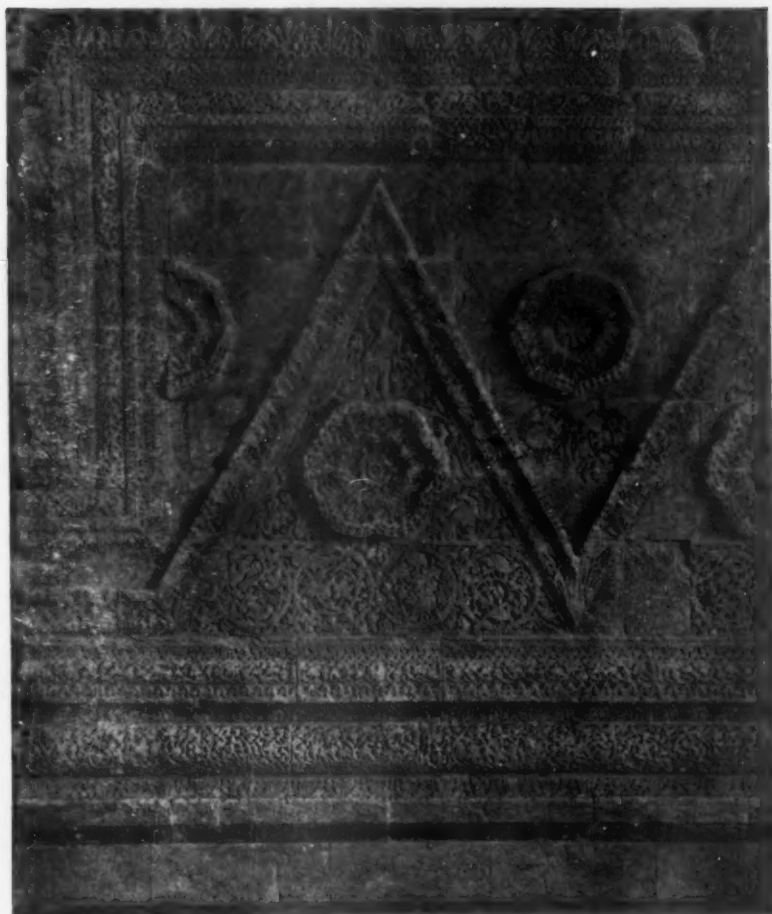


FIG. 12—BERLIN, KAISER FRIEDRICH MUSEUM: DETAIL OF FAÇADE FROM MSHATTA, SYRIA

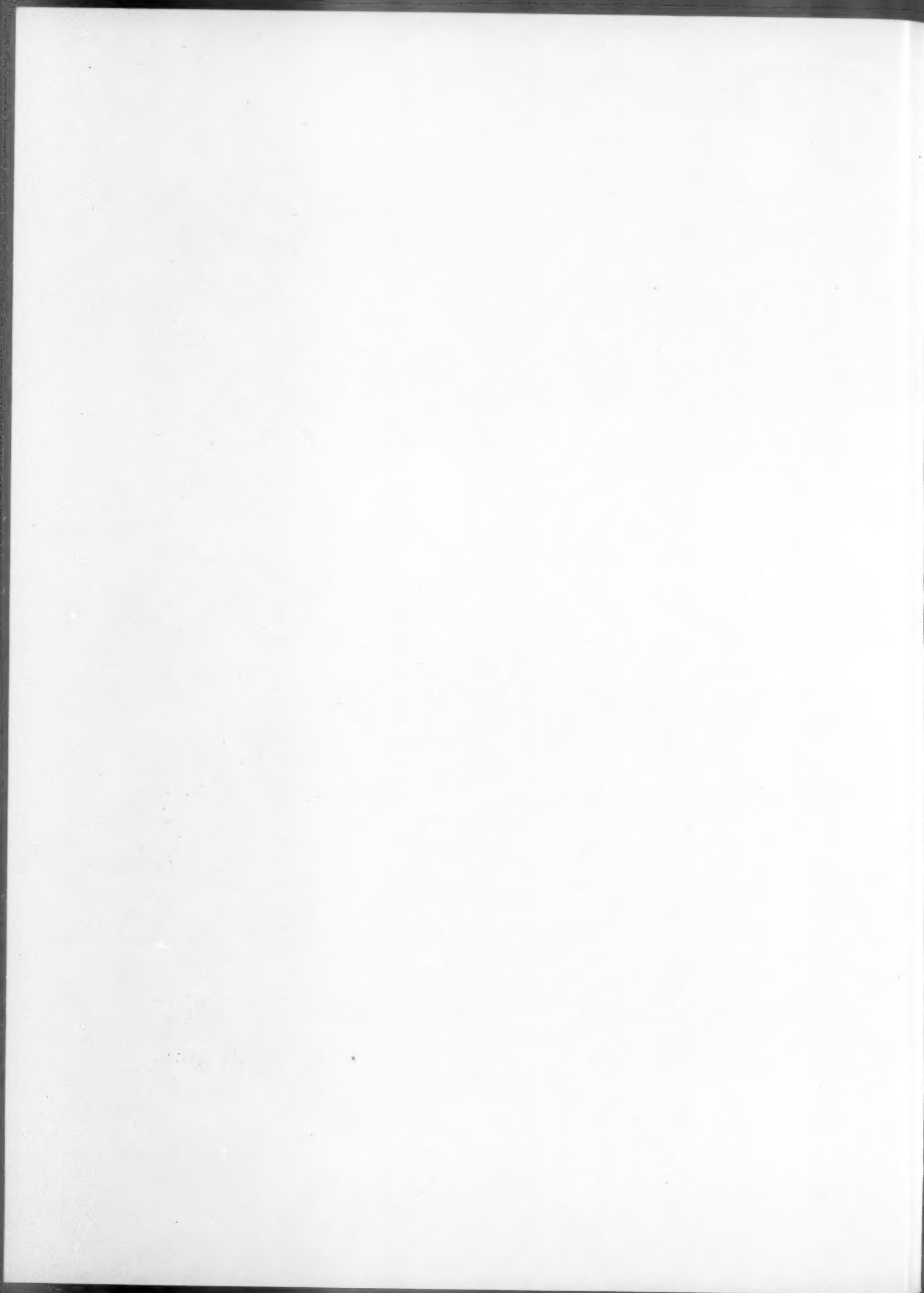






FIG. 13—MT. ATHOS, MONASTERY OF THE PANTOKRATOR: MS. 49, "MONASTIC" PSALTER. COMMUNION OF THE APOSTLES



FIG. 14—RAVENNA, S. VITALE: MOSAIC. EMPRESS THEODORA AND HER SUITE



FIG. 15—PARIS, BIBL. NAT.: MS. GREC. 510, HOMILIES OF GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS. EZEKIEL



FIG. 16—PARIS, BIBL. NAT.: MS. GREC. 510, HOMILIES OF GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS. SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF CHRIST





FIG. 17—MUNICH, GLYPTOTHEK: HELLENISTIC RELIEF. PEASANT GOING TO MARKET



FIG. 18—BERLIN, KAISER FRIEDRICH MUSEUM: IVORY PYXIS. ABRAHAM'S SACRIFICE



FIG. 19—RAVENNA, CATHEDRAL: CATHEDRA OF MAXIMIANUS, FRONT VIEW



FIG. 20—BERLIN, KAISER FRIEDRICH MUSEUM: BONE CARVING FROM ALEXANDRIA





It had become, by the ninth century, the dominant style at Constantinople, since its tradition is employed by the painters who illustrated the famous Sermons of Gregory Nazianzenus, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Fig. 16), for the emperor Basil the Macedonian between 880 and 886. Here still we have the narrative theme, the two-dimensional composition, the neutral background, the classic types and postures, and the arrested movement that have characterized the style since it first began to tell a Christian story. We have it, that is, in those miniatures of this manuscript which maintain a homogeneous character; in others (Fig. 15) it is distracted or modified, or completely replaced by another style of fundamentally different purpose, whose symptoms are unity and depth of composition, a different and far freer set of formulæ for movement and posture, and an impressionistic play of light and shade in the drapery. This intruding style, of which the realistic vigor, deep backgrounds, and *svelte* figures thus trouble the even abstraction of Asiatic art, is the other half of Hellenism, which seems to have had its rise in Alexandria.

The optic point of view, the effect of which on Asiatic work was to produce a very beautiful rhythmic alternation of light and dark, was employed in Alexandrian work to give impressionistic rendering of forms, and aimed with its *chiaroscuro* not at decorative rhythm but at the illusion of life. To this end, the style employs a casual placing of the figures, in real and therefore unlimited space, and a wide range of formulæ for posture and movement. The figures and faces also, instead of retaining the old classic distortion whereby head and torso are represented in their broadest aspect, are rendered in three-quarters view, or, indeed, in any aspect that fits their meaning. Instead of Neo-Attic flatness, we have lithe figures boldly modelled and alert; if any canon of classic art is imitated, it is that of Lysippus rather than that of Praxiteles.

We may call the style Alexandrian, because it is very probable that its center in the closing centuries of classical antiquity was Alexandria. From works of the fourth and fifth centuries that exhibit the style and can be assigned to Alexandria, we may reconstruct its earlier evolution and ascribe to it examples as early as the first century B. C. Thus the Hellenistic reliefs, or at least those which have a landscape background (Fig. 17), belong clearly in the Alexandrian category, whether executed at Alexandria or not.<sup>1</sup> The sketchy impressionism of a certain class of bone and ivory carvings, many of which have been found in Alexandria (Fig. 20) shows in the earlier centuries of the imperial period the same translation of light and shade into sculpture that appears about 500 in the Alexandrian ivory reliefs of the cathedra of Maximianus (Figs. 19 and 24).<sup>2</sup> An intermediate piece of carving is the ivory pyxis of Berlin (Fig. 18), recently assigned to Alexandria on good grounds of iconography by Mrs. Alison Smith Macdonald.<sup>3</sup> In this ivory and in the cathedra ivories we have the realistic composition, the free movement and posture, and

<sup>1</sup>The earliest of this series, the Apotheosis of Homer in the British Museum, bears, according to Watzinger (*Winckelmannsprogramme*, 1903) the portraits of Ptolemy Philopator and Arsinoë. Schreiber's attribution of the whole series to Alexandria is not now accepted without reservation, but Dickins (*Hellenistic Sculpture*, p. 29 ff.) is inclined to ascribe to that city the pastoral variety with which we are particularly concerned. With this mooted question our present problem has nothing to do; we are interested chiefly in isolating the style regardless of its place of origin. The style is in any case the characteristic manner of works produced in Alexandria from the fourth century A. D. onward, as is shown by its persistent appearance on those Early Christian monuments the Alexandrian origin of which is assured.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Baldwin Smith, *The Alexandrian Origin of the Maximianus Chair*, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1917, pp. 22-37. Even Wulff, whose *Altchristliche und Byzantinische Kunst* is so prone to attribute unattached monuments to Syria, rather lamely concludes (p. 191) that the cathedra is "the work of a Syrian atelier at Alexandria."

<sup>3</sup>*American Journal of Archaeology*, 1922, pp. 159-169.

the impressionistic handling of hair and features that mark the style. The school of the cathedra of Maximianus continues in decadent form in a well-known group of ivories related to the cathedra in iconography as well as style, and has its cruder issue in the carvings of the Coptic pyxides and plaques. The whole evolution of this style in Egyptian ivory and bone carving can be traced in a single case of the Morgan wing in the Metropolitan Museum. In the same room is exhibited the find of metal work from Cyprus, and on the silver plate of this collection (Fig. 23) the style appears again, at a period approximating that of the Maximianus throne.<sup>1</sup>

To turn to drawing and painting, we find the style of the Cyprus plate and of the cathedra in the illustrations of the Rotulus of Joshua, in the Library of the Vatican (Fig. 21). These are dated by the editors of the Rotulus in the seventh or eighth century. The original from which these illustrations were copied and modified may be placed on sound considerations in the fourth or fifth century and assigned to Alexandria on both stylistic and iconographic grounds.<sup>2</sup> The Rotulus affords the best example of Alexandrian drawing, and here the contrast to Asiatic comes out more strongly than in sculpture. Here we find not only the free movement of the figures, and their casual placing, quite unlike the measured pace and monotonous postures of the Asiatic works, but renderings of crowds in real space, and above all a landscape background with trees and mountains and cities, which are wholly absent save as mere symbols in the productions of the Neo-Attic tradition.

Retracing our steps, we find the manner again in the bits of landscape and piquant drawing that once adorned the famous Cotton Genesis, the fragments of which are now mostly in the British Museum; and Lethaby's recent examination has convinced him that these miniatures were done in Alexandria in the sixth century.<sup>3</sup> The cities, again, of the Joshua Rotulus, and not a few of its peculiar figure formulæ reappear in the Iliad miniatures of the Ambrosian Library (Fig. 25), which are now generally assigned to the fifth century.<sup>4</sup> In Egypt itself there are still to be found some traces of the style, in the cata-

<sup>1</sup>O. M. Dalton, *Archæologia*, LVII, pp. 159 ff., pls. XVI-XVIII; LX, pp. 1-24; *Burlington Magazine*, 1907. The provenance of this silver plate is the same as that of the originals of the Aristocratic Psalters and of the Rotulus of Joshua (Fig. 23), since the David scenes on the plate are obviously of the iconographic tradition followed in the Psalters, and of the style followed in the Rotulus. Further evidence for Egyptian origin may be found in the similarity of the jewellery found along with the plate to that of finds in Egypt (cf. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, p. 541), in the wig-like hair common to the youthful figures of the plate and also of the Coptic ivories, and in the Coptic ornament used on the architectural backgrounds of the plate.

<sup>2</sup>The best reason for assigning the Rotulus, or rather its original, to Alexandria, is the absence of any parallel for its style in Latin or Asiatic works. The parallels with the Vienna Genesis (drapery; forked stake used in the hanging scenes; landscape) cannot prove an Asiatic origin if the Genesis is a copy of an Alexandrian original. The constant use of personifications throughout the Rotulus is in line with their prevalence in Early Christian monuments of Egypt, and the Rotulus uses also the Egyptian method of individual labels instead of the extract from the text employed by the Asiatic artist of the Rossanensis. The closest parallel to the drawing of the Rotulus is afforded by a head of an angel (Fig. 22) in one of the frescoes at Bawit (Clédat, *Memoires de l'institut français au Caire*, XII, pl. 46); an impressionistic modelling of face and eyes, together with a bulky rendering of the figure, prevails both in the Rotulus and in the Alexandrian ivories of the school of the cathedra of Maximianus. The Joshua group of Plate XIII of the Vatican facsimile publication of the Rotulus reproduces the type of the Herod group of the Massacre of the Innocents at Bawit.

The style is the same as that of the Paris Psalter, chief example of the Aristocratic Psalters. Compare, for instance, the helmets and cuirasses (Joshua Rotulus, Vatican facsimile, pl. IX; Omont, *Miniatures des mss. grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, pl. IV); the costume of Hezekiah in the Psalter and that of the King of Ai in the Rotulus (Omout, pl. XIV; Rotulus, pl. XI); the use of the pænula accompanied by a scarf around the neck (Rotulus, pl. IV; Omont, pl. IX); the bare shoulders of the personifications (Omout, pl. IX; Rotulus, pl. IV); and the ornament below their girdles (Omout, pls. I, XIV; Rotulus, pl. XII). The footwear and the foreshortening of the feet bear a close resemblance in the two manuscripts.

<sup>3</sup>*Archæological Journal*, 1913, p. 162, and the references there given.

<sup>4</sup>No serious arguments have been advanced in favor of an origin in South Italy for the miniatures. The manuscript is after all a Greek one, and the features that connect the miniatures with the style of the Rotulus are numerous and striking. Such are the slanting axis for movement used in both, and the similar formulæ for drapery (cf., e. g., the flying fold in the costume of Hector, and his posture as well, in Pict. 25 of Ceriani and Ratti's facsimile of the Iliad miniatures, with Plate XIII of the Vatican Rotulus). The movements of the figures in the battle scenes are more than reminiscent of the Rotulus (cf. pls. V and VIII of the Rotulus with Pict. XX, XXI), and the ranks of the



FIG. 21—ROME, VATICAN: ROTULUS OF JOSHUA, DETAIL. JOSHUA MEETS THE ANGEL OF THE LORD



FIG. 22—BAWIT, CHAPEL XVII: FRESCO



FIG. 23—NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM: SILVER PLATE FOUND IN CYPRUS. DAVID SLAYING THE LION



FIG. 24—RAVENNA, CATHEDRAL: CATHEDRA OF MAXIMIANUS, DETAIL. NATIVITY









FIG. 25—MILAN, [BIBL. AMBROSIANA: ILIAD. HECTOR REPROACHING PARIS



FIG. 26—ROME, S. MARIA ANTIQUA: FRESCO. ANNUNCIATION



comb frescoes of Alexandria and the mural paintings of Antinoë, assigned to the fifth century, and even occasionally among the frescoes of the sepulchral chapels of Bawît (Fig. 22), in details not yet obliterated by Coptic imitation of Syrian iconography and convention. Certain frescoes of Bawît, of the sixth or seventh century, are still drawn with the technical formulæ that obtain in the Joshua Rotulus, and have the same impressionistic rendering of the eye which is translated into ivory on the cathedra of Maximianus by a little cubical projection.

In the latter half of the seventh century—and here I am drawing on the forthcoming article by Miss Avery—there is a flash of the style at Rome. I shall leave to Miss Avery the discussion of its unheralded appearance in the frescoes of S. Maria Antiqua (Fig. 26), and its more remarkable *disappearance*, as well as the interesting probability that its sudden apparition is due to the Arab conquest of Alexandria in the second quarter of the seventh century, and the consequent emigration of many or most of the Alexandrian Christian craftsmen, who would naturally take their way to metropolitan centers such as Rome and Constantinople. Certain it is that the bold modelling, depth of space, spirited drawing, and impressionistic rendering of features and drapery, which we should expect of them, put in an appearance in the midst of the traditional Asiatic style at S. Maria Antiqua just about the time of the Arab capture of Alexandria, and these features bring with them, significantly, a set of iconographic types that have their home in Egypt. Lingered traces of its influence may still be seen in the frescoes of the church that date toward the middle of the eighth century, and after this brief infusion the Alexandrian style dies out of Italian painting to reappear no more until its echo is brought to the peninsula again by the importation of Byzantine style in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Up to the latter period the prevailing Italian manner is a provincial version of the Asiatic.

Not many years after the Sermons of Gregory were illustrated for Basil the Great, an artist working in Alexandrian style, presumably at Constantinople, collected an atelier of painters that produced one of the finest works of Byzantine art—the Psalter of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (Fig. 27). He is so remarkably close to the draftsman of the Joshua Rotulus that he either represents the last of a series of transplanted Alexandrian craftsmen, or was uncommonly gifted in assimilating the spirit as well as the letter of an Alexandrian model of earlier date. He uses for background a hilly landscape, peopled with Hellenistic personifications, or the vista of a distant city, or picturesque perspectives of architecture. Against this background his figures move in lively groups, with animated drapery and sinewy limbs portrayed in sharp high lights and shadows, or serve to compose an idyllic scene like that of the Harper David (Fig. 28), charming the beasts like Orpheus in a Pompeian setting, with Melody as his inspiration seated beside him and Echo (?) peeping around the fountain to the right. To appreciate the vigor of this artist we should

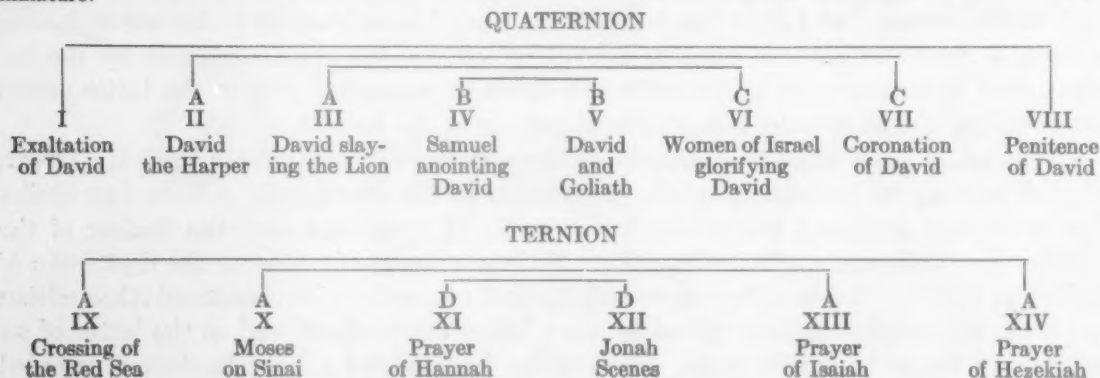
soldiers in the Rotulus (Pl. III) are reproduced in the Ambrosian miniatures (Pict. XII, XIII, XXX). In other details the resemblance increases to a convincing point. The cities are represented in both works in a very like fashion (and one that contrasts with that of the Latin style as exemplified in the Vatican Vergil), being treated broadly, with no indication of masonry, and with the same little windows. Spears are used to multiply the ranks of soldiers in the same fashion. In the Iliad miniatures the shields of soldiers form a background behind a tribunal in a manner that is like that used in the Rotulus and in the Herod group of the Massacre of the Innocents in the frescoes of Antinoë, though it appears in the Iliad miniatures in a looser and a more conventionalized form. The figures of priests, like the Calchas of Pict. XII, or of old men like the Nestor of Pict. 46, are remarkably like, in their loose curly locks and protruding beards, as well as in their carriage and drapery, the Abraham of the Berlin pyxis which Mrs. Alison Smith MacDonald has ascribed to Alexandria. In Pict. LIV the movement of feet and legs is done in the familiar formulæ of the Rotulus, and the figure of Hector reminds one irresistibly of the Alexandrian ivory reliefs at Aachen. Compare also the river god Scamander of Pict. LIII with the mountain god of the Rotulus (Pl. III). Lastly, we have the usual Alexandrian emphasis on the figures and the reduction of landscape for the most part to the rôle of a back drop. The Ambrosian miniatures belong in the same school that produced the original of the Joshua Rotulus, and on the other hand to a school clearly distinguishable from the Latin one that produced the Vatican Vergil, or the Asiatic one that gave rise to the Vienna Genesis and the Codex of Rossano.



compare his work with that of his assistants: one, a faithful imitator of the master but unable to compass his depth of background; another, a bungler, whose niggling outlines and ragged *chiaroscuro* appear as a caricature of the leader's example; a third, who cannot be entirely seduced from Asiatic prepossessions (Fig. 29), and who avoids as best he can the problems of depth, movement, and unusual posture.<sup>1</sup>

In such ateliers as this, one might have witnessed the very process by which the Middle Byzantine style was formed. The same mingling of Asiatic and Alexandrian traditions that was produced by the Alexandrian master of the Paris Psalter and his Asiatic assistants can be observed in the miniatures of the Sermons of Gregory, except that here the head master was a disciple of the Asiatic school (Fig. 16), and the Alexandrian influence is less apparent. It is present, however, in not a few shifts from Asiatic iconography to types we know were traditional in Egypt.<sup>2</sup> It is especially noticeable in one miniature—the Vision of Ezekiel (Fig. 15)—which might have been painted by the master of the Paris Psalter himself. It shows itself also in the briskness of movement introduced into some of the scenes, and in a new impressionism of light and shade in drapery.<sup>3</sup> Above all is it present in the occasional yielding of the old Asiatic narrative composition to one

<sup>1</sup>This division of the miniatures between four artists is confirmed by the original arrangement of the miniatures according to the scheme worked out by Omont (*Miniatures des mss. grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*). He has shown that the fourteen miniatures of the Psalter were originally arranged two on a sheet, and of the seven sheets resulting, four made a quaternion bound in before the Psalms, and three a ternion preceding Canticles. The miniatures in these two gatherings were originally arranged as follows, the letter above each number indicating the artist of the miniature:



It thus appears that the head master, A, painted the sheets IX-XIV and X-XIII, as well as the first half of sheets II-VI and III-VII, which were finished by his bungling assistant, C. His faithful imitator, B, painted the sheet IV-V, and the most Asiatic of his assistants, D, was given the sheet XI-XII. The sheet I-VIII seems to have been painted by still another artist, or other artists, although closer examination might identify him or them among the four already distinguished.

I have used the traditional dating for these miniatures of the Paris Psalter. It is to be noted however that the resemblance of their style to that of the Rotulus of Joshua and of their inscriptions to those of Paris 510, indicates a date earlier than the tenth century, to which they are assigned along with the text of the Psalter. There is no structural connection of the miniatures with the text, since they are full leaf insertions, and it is therefore quite possible that the miniatures are to be dated in a considerably earlier period.

<sup>2</sup>The Adoration of the Magi in Paris 510 follows, in including the figures of Joseph and the angel, a type which is Alexandrian in origin (Baldwin Smith, *Early Christian Iconography*, p. 48 and Table II; for a reproduction of the miniature in Paris 510, see Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXII). The Joshua Commanding the Sun and Moon follows the formula of the Rotulus of Joshua (Omont, pl. XL). The figure of Moses in the Crossing of the Red Sea repeats that of Moses in the same scene of the Paris Psalter (cf. Omont, pl. XLII with Omont, pl. IX, which reproduces the miniature of the Psalter). The type used for the Sacrifice of Abraham (Omont, pl. XXXVII) is that employed in the illustrations of Cosmas Indicopleustes, Alexandrian conceptions of the sixth century.

<sup>3</sup>Light and shade in white drapery: angel (Omont, pl. XX); disciples (pl. XXVIII); Joseph (pl. XXXII); angel (pl. XXXIII); figures (pl. XXXVII); disciple (pl. XXXIX); figures (pl. LVIII).

In composition the tendency to centralize and balance, to simplify, and to increase significance, pointed out by Millet in Paris 510 as evidence of the Hellenic and symbolic trend of Byzantine art under the influence of Constantinople, is rather to be ascribed to Alexandrian influence, since it appears to follow, in the miniatures of this manuscript, the introduction of Alexandrian iconography. The dominant manner of 510 is the Asiatic narrative, and one may see the great difference between the Alexandrian and the Asiatic method in this respect by comparing the Anointing of David of 510 (Omont, pl. XXXVII) with the centralized rendering of the scene in the Paris Psalter (Omont, pl. III).





FIG. 27—PARIS, BIBL. NAT.: MS. GREC. 1139, [FOL. 419 v.,  
PSALTER. CROSSING THE RED SEA



FIG. 28—PARIS, BIBL. NAT.: MS. GREC. 139, FOL. 1 v.,  
PSALTER. DAVID



FIG. 29—PARIS, BIBL. NAT.: MS. GREC. 139, FOL. 428 v.,  
PSALTER. HANNAH'S PRAYER



FIG. 30—DAPHNI, MONASTERY CHURCH: MOSAIC. CRUCIFIXION



composed with symmetry and depth, and in a fresh assumption of dignified proportions even by figures that adhere in the main to the formulæ of the old manuscripts of Asia Minor.<sup>1</sup>

The lithèr, slenderer Alexandrian proportions, the search for unity and for some modicum of depth and locality, the greater contrast of light and shade, gradually transformed the Asiatic tradition in Byzantine painting during the course of the tenth century. One can trace the process by examining the miniatures of manuscripts produced in the later decades of the Macedonian dynasty, such as the Oppian of Venice, and the Nicander of Paris. The eleventh century has completed the amalgamation, and witnesses the full-fledged of the typical Byzantine style. This shows still in its characteristic contradictions the wide discrepancy between the elements that compose it. To Alexandria it owes that bold modelling of the figure in light and shade and that indication of locality which are so puzzling when combined with the gold or neutral background, and a composition that is essentially two-dimensional. This last is of course its Asiatic patrimony, and so also are the decorative borders resembling Persian textiles, the classic isolation and self-sufficiency of the individual figures, and the decorative rather than dramatic composition. But the revived Hellenism of its conception of humanity as something authoritative and beautiful, and especially its new unity, are more Alexandrian than Asiatic. The canon now used for the proportions of the figure, however much its attitudes may retain of Neo-Attic grace, is the Lysippean canon of small head and slender body. Perhaps it is more true to say that Middle Byzantine art extracted from both traditions what was most Greek in them. Certainly it manifests a remarkable grip on the old Greek power to represent where other races could only narrate and describe. Its content is, to be sure, no longer the Greek apotheosis of nature, but the rationalization of Oriental faith; it is nevertheless the Greek quality of the Middle Byzantine style, as Greek as anything on the Parthenon, that enables it to grasp the entirety of this abstraction and embody it with force and beauty. Its parallels must be sought in the Far East, and indeed even in Buddhist art one will hardly find an embodiment of faith that eliminates time and space more reasonably and simply than the Crucifixion of Daphni (Fig. 30).

Both the Alexandrian and the Asiatic styles have this Greek feature in common, that the human figure is still the main vehicle of expression, and ideally so, without the encumbering limitations of circumstance. Even in the Alexandrian style, which rose to meet the late Hellenistic demand for realism, Greek prejudice keeps the artist from yielding to the temptation to emphasize the interesting minutiae of locality at the expense of the figure.<sup>2</sup> To him the environment never becomes more than a back drop against which he relieves the action of his *dramatis personæ*. This also is the point of view that controls the picturesque settings of the Hellenistic reliefs (Fig. 17), and constitutes the best evidence for the Alexandrian origin of their style, as advocated by Schreiber.<sup>3</sup> But just as the Hellenism of the Hellenistic reliefs is transformed into a real illusion of unlimited space

<sup>1</sup>The attempt to centralize the composition is best seen in the story of Dives and Lazarus (Omont, pl. XXXIV), in the episode of Christ among the Doctors and the Life of St. Cyprian (Omont, pl. XLVII). The occasional attempt at simplification is best illustrated by comparing the Raising of Lazarus and the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem in 510 with the corresponding miniatures of the Codex Rossanensis. Backgrounds are deepened in the Story of Job (Omont, pl. XXVII) and the Story of St. Cyprian (Omont, pl. XLVII). The Vision of Ezekiel (Omont, pl. LVIII) has not only its background, but its whole composition and its figures in a style that could only be conceived by an Alexandrian artist of the type of Artist A of the Paris Psalter (cf. Fig. 15 with Figs. 27 and 28).

<sup>2</sup>Herein one may find the explanation of the absence of tragedy in Greek literature of the Hellenistic period. The realistic tendencies of the time made a tragedy of the commonplace the necessary form, if tragedy be attempted at all; the Hellenic refusal to subordinate man to his environment made it impossible for dramatists to represent humanity as the creature of environment, which would have resulted from the introduction of a realistic drama.



and specific episode in the sculptures of the Arch of Titus (Fig. 32), so it appears that the pseudo-backgrounds of Alexandrian frescoes were developed in Italy into approximations of modern painting. Rodenwaldt,<sup>1</sup> in his study of the landscapes of Pompeii, found that they develop in three phases: (1), pure landscape; (2), landscape with accessories mostly of religious character (altars, temples, and the like); (3), landscapes with mythological episodes, like the well-known stories from the Odyssey found in a house at Rome (Fig. 31). In these there is no longer question of the subordination of the figures. They are given the casual positions and movement of human beings in real environment and consequently seen at a distance, which reduces their drawing to a sketchy impressionism, or a frank construction by color contrast. The persistent Egyptian *motifs* found in the landscapes at Pompeii, the Greek inscriptions of the Odyssey landscapes, and the testimony of Latin writers that such impressionism was regarded in early imperial Italy as having been invented by the "Egyptians,"<sup>2</sup> connect this phenomenon, which is the "illusionism" of Wickhoff's theory, with the Alexandrian category. It is a modification in a realistic sense of the picturesque manner that we have been tracing from the bone carvings of Alexandria through the Joshua Rotulus and the cathedra of Maximianus to the Paris Psalter—namely, the Alexandrian style.

In sculpture this realistic version of Alexandrian pseudo-realism produces works like the reliefs of the Arch of Titus (Fig. 32), and in Italian painting it can be followed obscurely through the catacomb frescoes of the second, third, and fourth centuries of our era, the third-century descriptions of pictures by Philostratus,<sup>3</sup> and occasional survivals of house decoration. From the fourth century on its course is clearer, for from that time we have the illuminated manuscripts to guide us; and the history of the illusionistic Latin style can be followed from illustrated books of the fourth and fifth centuries, such as the Vatican Vergil and the Itala of Quedlinburg, until its final issue in the twelfth-century sculpture of Languedoc and Burgundy.

In examples like the Odyssey landscapes the illusion is so good that these pictures have an uncanny effect of modernity. That the grip on actuality which they show did not last, is due to the gradual decay in Latin art, as in Asiatic, of the Greek power of simultaneous representation, and the substitution for this of the same descriptive mode that changed the centralized compositions of the Neo-Attic style to the narrative frieze. The monuments of painting are too rare, or too poor, as in the case of the catacomb frescoes, to afford good illustration of this change, but we can see it clearly enough in sculpture.<sup>4</sup> An excellent example is the extraordinary negation of Greek principles that is carried out in the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, wherein the unity of time is lost in the effort after descriptive narrative. When figures and accessories are used thus like words for the telling of a story rather than the portrayal thereof, they lose in the change the

<sup>1</sup>Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.*, p. 20 ff.

<sup>2</sup>Cf., for example, the passage in Petronius Arbiter, *Satyricon*, I, where reference is made to the decline of painting "since the Egyptians have invented a *compendiarium* for this great art."

<sup>3</sup>The passages in Philostratus that show the use of impressionism have been collected by Wickhoff, *Wiener Genesis*, p. 90 ff. A "Memnon" picture is described in which a rosy hue appears on the trees and the rocks as the Colossus reddens under the rising sun; a moonlight effect is described in a picture of "Antigone;" in the account of a "Cassandra" we hear of a room lighted by a lamp, in another picture, of details lighted by a torch; a "Pelops" showed light reflected from the shoulders of the heroes through their garments. In the description of the "Komos" picture, referred to above as that in which light is given by torches, a mistake is recorded in the lighting, since the shadows are described as blue, as they would be in daylight. But the mere fact that in the third century artists could paint shadows blue shows an advance on Pompeian painting, and shows that the interest in color effects evinced by the illusionistic painters of the second and third Pompeian styles did not decay, but developed further, as time went on.

<sup>4</sup>On the Balustrades of the Rostra are carved reliefs representing events in the reign of a Roman emperor, presumably Trajan, against a background representing the buildings of the Forum. The locality is thus unified, but not so the action, for the events represented against this background are years apart.



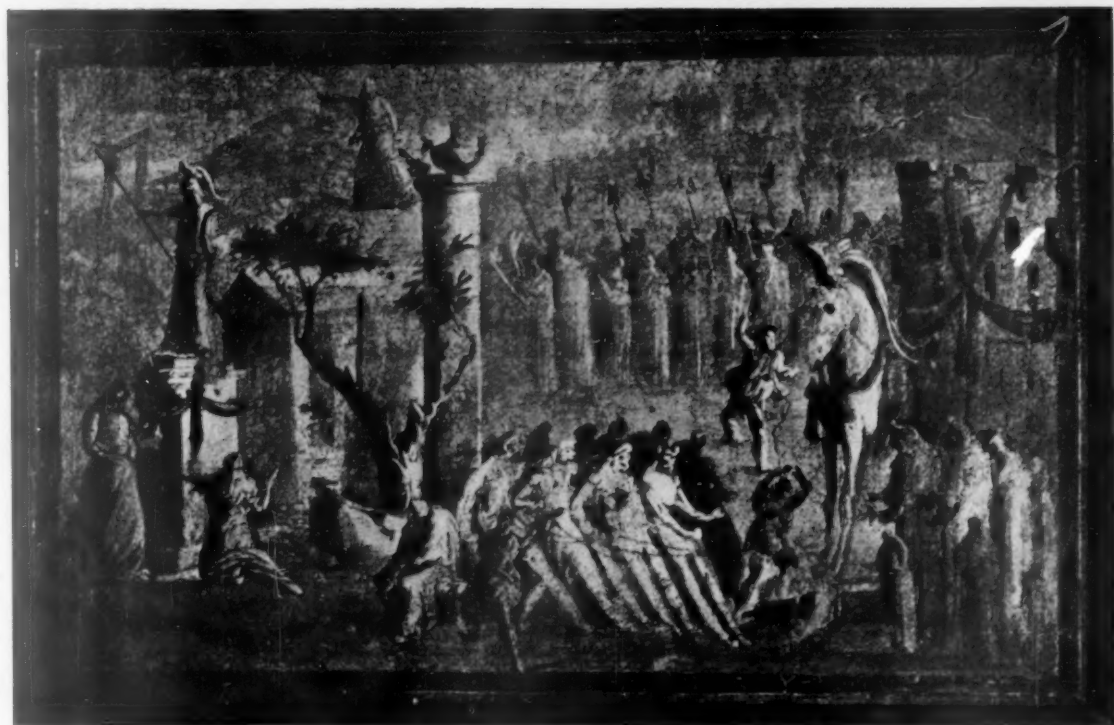


FIG. 31—NAPLES, MUSEUM: FRESCO FROM POMPEII. THE WOODEN HORSE



FIG. 32—ROME, ARCH OF TITUS: RELIEF. TRIUMPHAL PROCESSION





FIG. 33—ROME, LATERAN MUSEUM: SARCOPHAGUS OF AGAPE AND CRESCENTIANUS

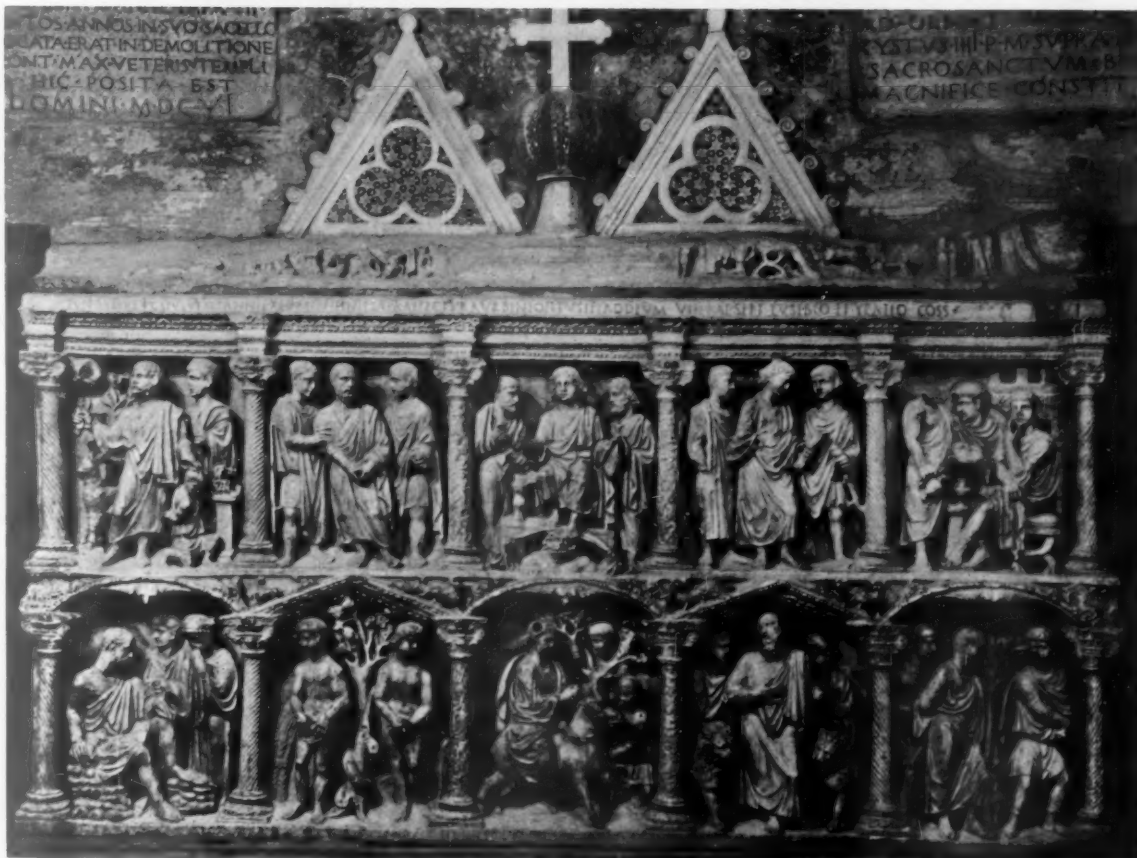
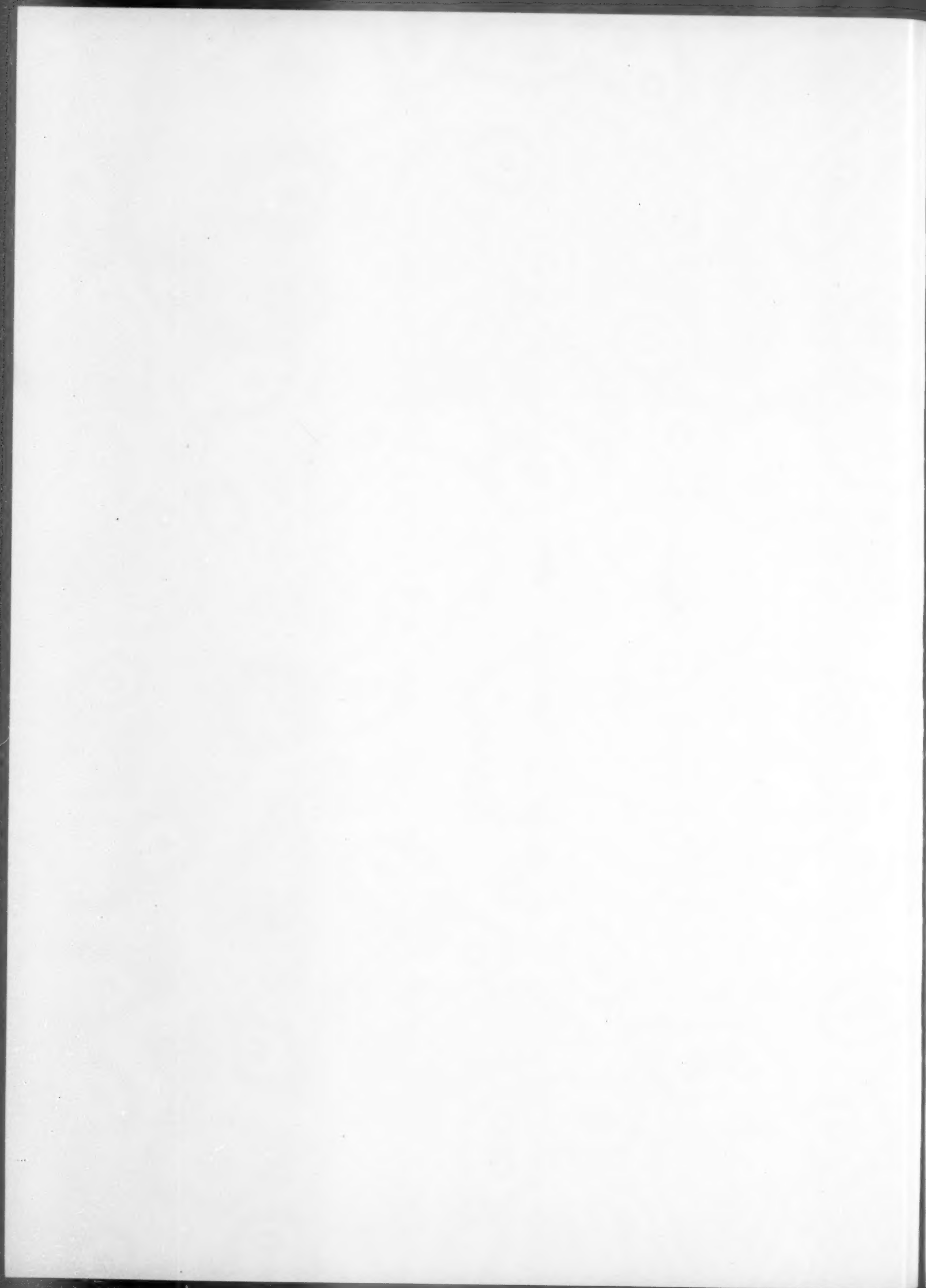


FIG. 34—ROME, CRYPT OF ST. PETER'S: SARCOPHAGUS OF JUNIUS BASSUS





necessity of beauty which their importance in the Alexandrian style had caused them to retain. Illusionism had degraded them in any case to squat or thin proportions, as distant objects; their new use in these literary compositions deprived them of life, which was their one claim to beauty before. Hence the ugliness of the decadent Hellenistic reliefs of the Latin West in the fourth and fifth centuries, such as the frieze on the arch of Constantine, or the native Italian sarcophagi (Fig. 33), in which the Latin Christians buried their feeble vision of antique loveliness along with themselves.

To the descriptive interest of the Latin style in its later stages we must also attribute its most salient characteristic—the disintegration of composition. From this danger the Asiatic style was saved by its Neo-Attic inheritance of decorative unity, and the Oriental rhythm that replaced it wherever its classic unity was destroyed. But illusionism had no decorative principle of composition and no Orientals to tell it how to compose in recurrent accents of light and shade; its compositions held together so long as they were alive, and no longer. It follows therefore that as the representative power decayed and the descriptive interest grew, the compositions became crystalline, to use Riegl's descriptive word: to make things clear, they were separately depicted, so that spatial relation, to say nothing of dramatic relation, was lost. This new mode, which Riegl calls "isolation," attacked not only the disposition of figures and objects in a group, but even the component parts of the figure itself, which now began to be represented each in its broadest aspect, in the interest of clearer description, and arrived finally at a dislocation analogous to that of archaic style. But the new style was without the primitive beauty of the archaic, because archaic figures satisfy the tactile sense even when they disappoint the eye, while the phantasms of illusionism had no form to begin with.

It is not surprising therefore that when the Latin style had reached this point, it appealed less to art patrons than did the more decorative Asiatic manner. The first symptom of a change in taste is the importation into Italy, and the imitation there, of the Asiatic type of columnar sarcophagus,<sup>1</sup> such as the one which Junius Bassus, a prefect of Rome in the middle of the fourth century, selected for his burial place in the cemetery of Old St. Peter's (Fig. 34). The wealthy Christians of the fourth century who buried their dead near the grave of St. Peter on the Vatican hill preferred this type of sarcophagus, and their example was followed by the same class of people in North Italy. With the revival of monumental building and decoration which followed the barbarian inroads of the fifth century the change to Asiatic style is almost complete, and its dominance in Ravenna in the sixth century is one of the commonplaces of art history. It remains the choice of popes, bishops, and patrons who were wealthy enough to employ its exponents, either Asiatic-born or Asiatic-trained, until the entry of the Middle Byzantine style into Italy in the course of the tenth and the eleventh centuries. Its continuance may be traced in the frescoes of Rome throughout this intermediate period, though with much degeneration

<sup>1</sup>In an unpublished study of the chronology of the Christian sarcophagi, the present writer finds that the earliest of the columnar sarcophagi are those which use the five arched niches on the front, or three niches of which the middle one is gabled and the lateral ones arched, or five niches with a horizontal entablature. These types in turn are the traditional ones used in Asia Minor, whence it would appear that the columnar sarcophagi represent the continuation of an Asiatic tradition. This is borne out by the survival of several atelier tricks of the old Asiatic school in the columnar Christian sarcophagi, such as the relieving of the heads against the cornice, the drapery fold held in the hand, etc. Certain subjects popular on the old Asiatic sarcophagi also appear on the Christian continuations, such as the Dioscuri, the poet-and-muse group, and the tomb portal. On the other hand, the reversing of the direction of the flutings in the conches which fill the tops of the niches, whereby the flutings radiate from the top downward instead of from the bottom upward, shows that Latin taste in this respect is being considered by the sculptors of the Christian examples. It would seem therefore that the columnar sarcophagi are to be considered the work of Asiatic artists in the West, or of their imitators, and this would account for their peculiar iconography, which contains scenes not used at all, so far as we know, in the Latin cycles, and certain features in other scenes that are equally foreign to Latin tradition. Such peculiarities in the columnar sarcophagi must be the reflection of the local cycles of Asia Minor.

in the hands of native craftsmen, and with the brilliant interlude of Alexandrian style at S. Maria Antiqua of which mention has been made above.

It is to the backwaters of Italian art and to the Latin provinces that one must therefore go in order to find a survival of the broken-down illusionism which we have described above. Such survival may be seen in the frieze sarcophagi of southern Gaul, whither Professor Frothingham thought the Roman carvers went at the time of the barbarian invasions of Italy in the fifth century. Another is to be found in the coarse and bulky figure style of that group of ivories (Fig. 33) which Baldwin Smith has succeeded in placing in Provence.<sup>1</sup> Still another, and perhaps the most instructive example, is visible in the miniatures of the Codex Romanus of Vergil (Fig. 36), so crude and childish that Wickhoff thought they were painted for the amusement of some Roman schoolboy. We find the style again in the early mediæval byways of Italy, as, for example, in the early manuscripts of Monte Cassino, before they were re-stylized by the influence of Byzantium or the North. The Latin style in fact follows the destiny of the Latin tongue, and is gradually barbarized into Romance forms, without ever losing, any more than did Provençal or Spanish or the Italian dialects, a substratum of Latinity. In Spain we can follow it through various phases that show the effect of Coptic and Arabic influence, from the Ashburnham Pentateuch of the seventh century to the Beatus of the British Museum, the illustration of which was finished in 1109 (Fig. 37). Its characteristics are always the childish youth of the face, the spots of color that remain of the old illusionistic modelling of the cheek, the rectangular drawing of the face and its frequent subsiding into profile, the staring eye, the disintegrated composition, and the inarticulate figure.

That the earlier and better illusionism survived at all is due to that great preservative of style, the illuminated manuscript. Every manuscript was necessarily a copy if it was a sacred or classic text, and the scribe who copied the text was seconded by the artist who strove as well as he could to reproduce the illustrations. Sometimes these artists were able to catch in a wonderful way the spirit of the antique, like the painter of the Georgics miniatures in the Vatican Vergil (Fig. 38), whose charming vignettes are a not too distant echo of the frescoes of Pompeii. Such manuscripts inspired the painters of Alcuin's school of Tours to imitation, and we see them painfully reproducing, in the Bible of Count Vivien (Fig. 39), the antique trees and meadows, and even the graduated colors of the sky, which in their hands becomes a mere succession of stripes. In the early work of the Carolingian school of Reims a more powerful illusionistic influence is at work, perhaps derived from Alexandrian models, but at any rate destined to have a profound effect upon the mediæval art of Europe. The painter of the Schatzkammer Gospel (Fig. 40) can make a translation of the color impressionism of his model, but in the Ebbo Gospel that continued his style this impressionism has lapsed into line and the contours have become a series of rapid strokes of pen or brush from right to left. Of this effect the school becomes extremely fond, as we may see by comparing the miniatures of the masterpiece of Carolingian art, the Utrecht Psalter (Fig. 42).

The vivacity of the illusionistic style was in fact admirably suited to the barbarian temperament, and the barbarian temperament is the creative factor in this northern art of Charlemagne's renaissance, however much it may have been reduced in southern Latin lands to a mere element of decay. March Phillipps, whose essay *Form and Colour*<sup>2</sup> has

<sup>1</sup>E. Baldwin Smith, *Early Christian Iconography and a School of Ivory Carvers in Provence*, Princeton, 1918. The group of ivories which he assigns in this work to Provence is considerably expanded in a recent article in *Art Studies*, II, 1924.

<sup>2</sup>L. March Phillipps, *Form and Colour*, London, Duckworth, 1915.



FIG. 35—LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM: IVORY CASKET.  
INCRELDULITY OF THOMAS



FIG. 36—ROME, VATICAN: CODEX ROMANUS OF VERGIL



FIG. 37—LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM: ADD. MS. 11, 695, BEATUS FROM STO. DOMINGO DE SILOS.  
SCENE FROM REVELATION







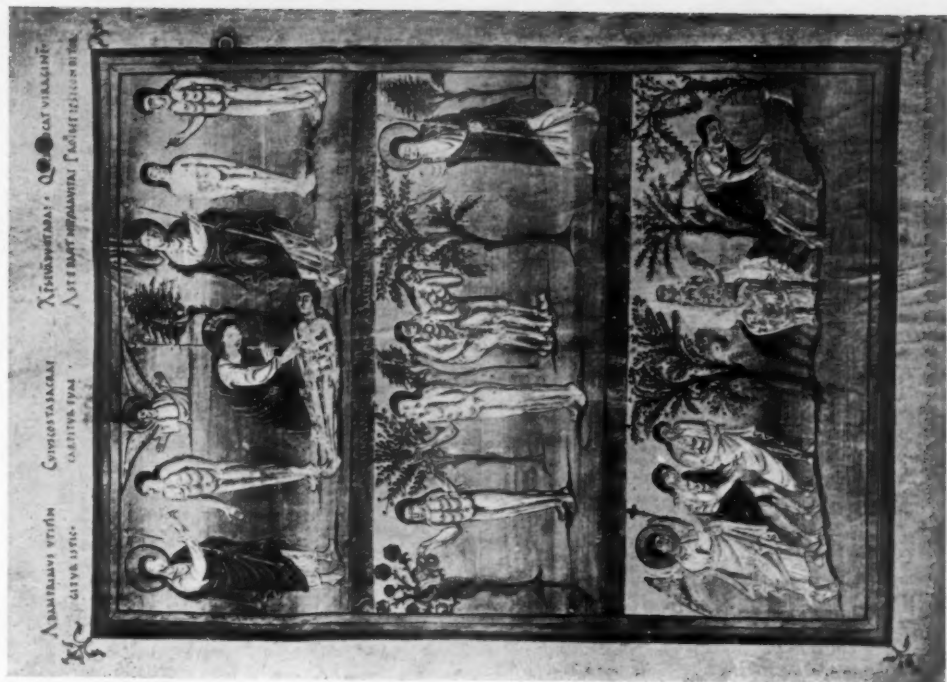


FIG. 39—PARIS, BIBL. NAT.: MS. LAT. 1, BIBLE OF VIVIEN. SCENES OF GENESIS



FIG. 38—ROME, VATICAN: VERGIL. MINIATURE OF THE IV CENTURY



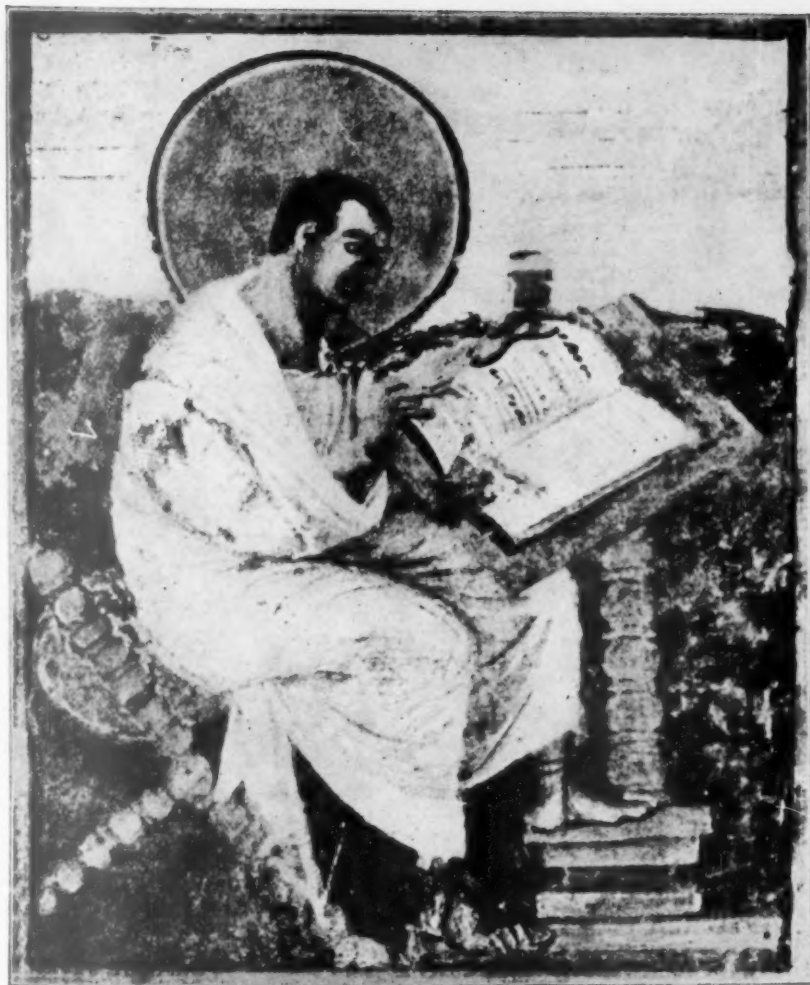


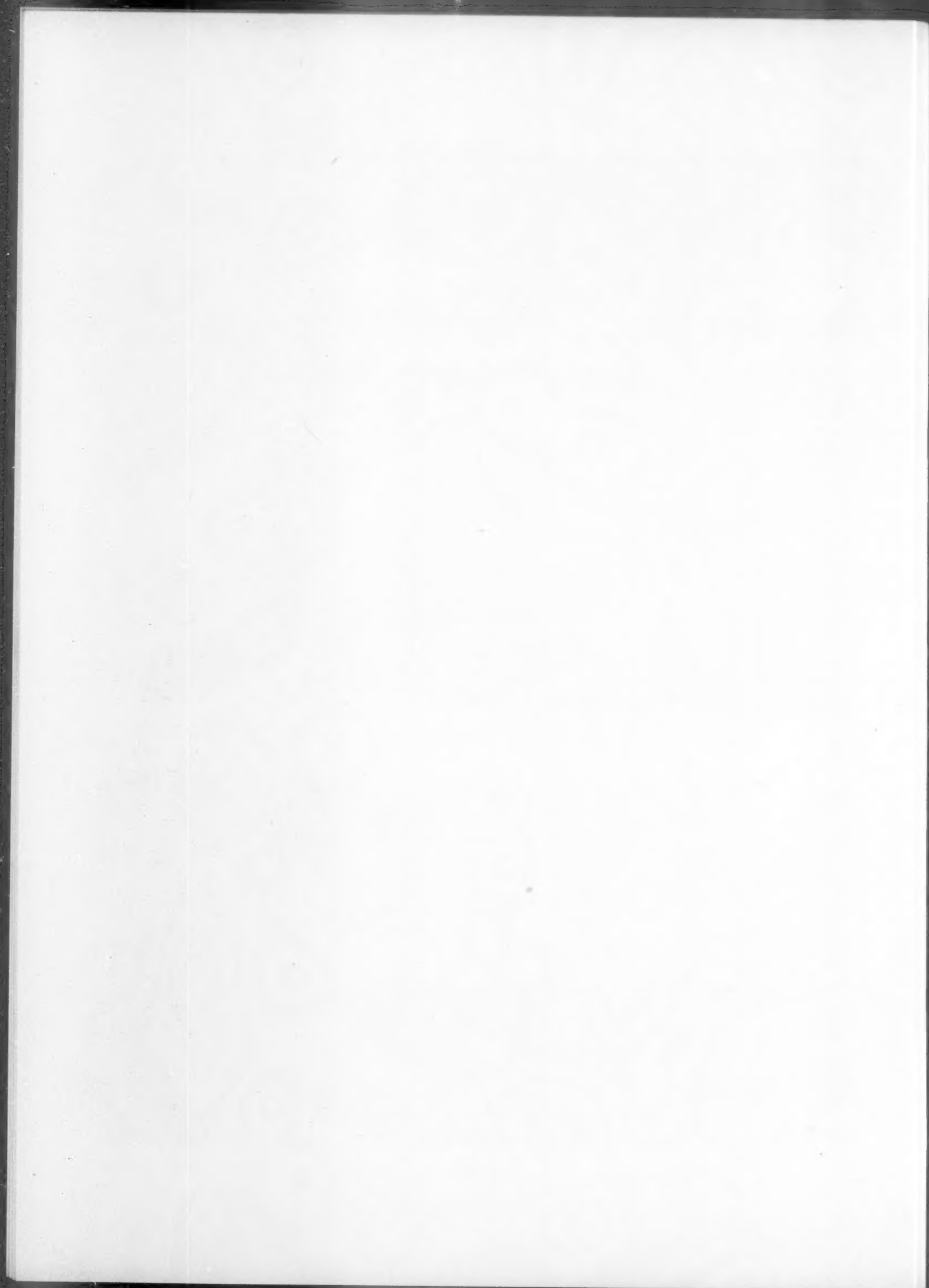
FIG. 40—VIENNA, SCHATZKAMMER: CHARLEMAGNE'S GOSPEL. ST. MATTHEW



FIG. 41—LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM: LIBER  
VITAE. LAST JUDGMENT



FIG. 42—UTRECHT, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY: PSALTER. ILLUSTRATION TO PSALM 135 OF ENGLISH VERSION





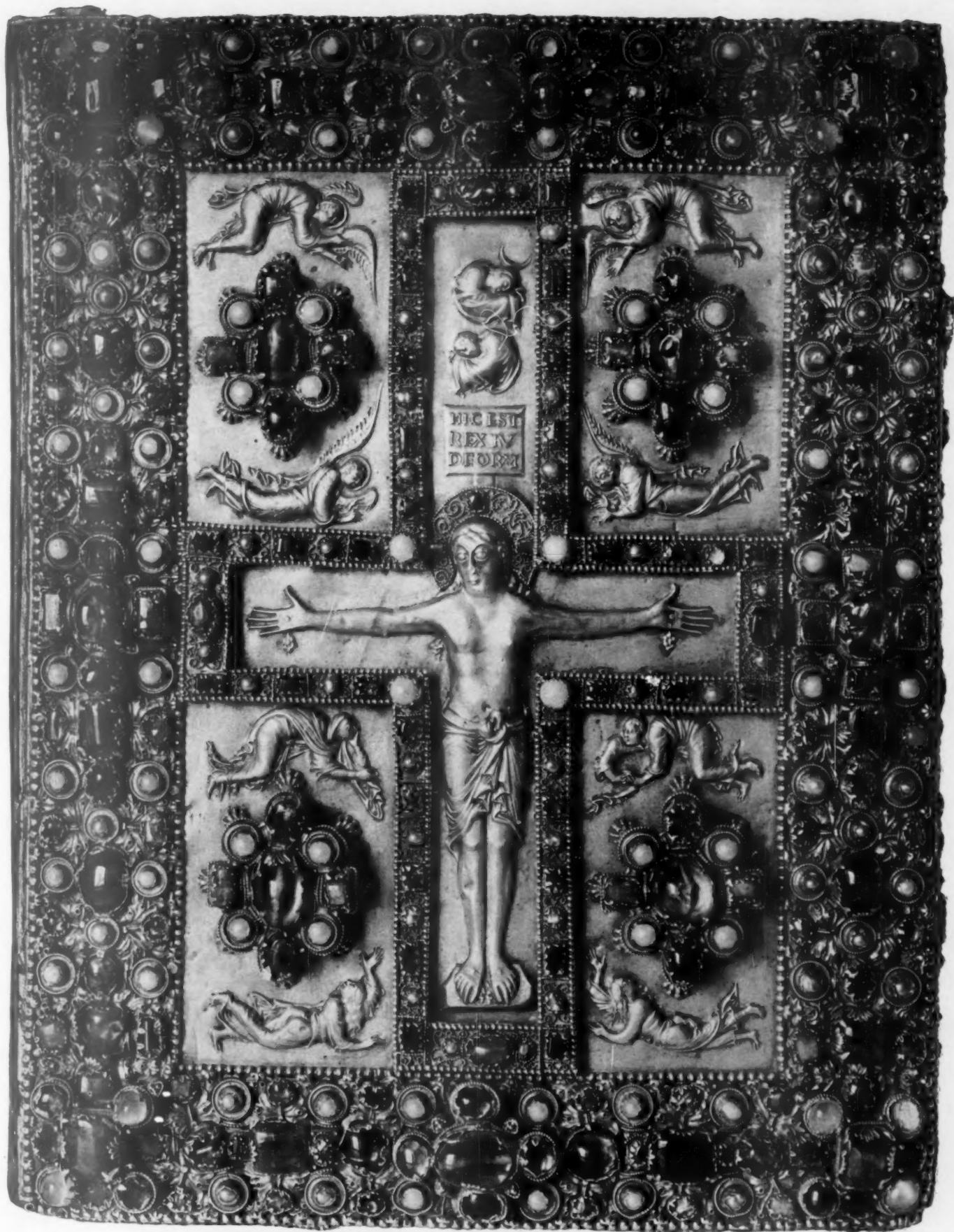
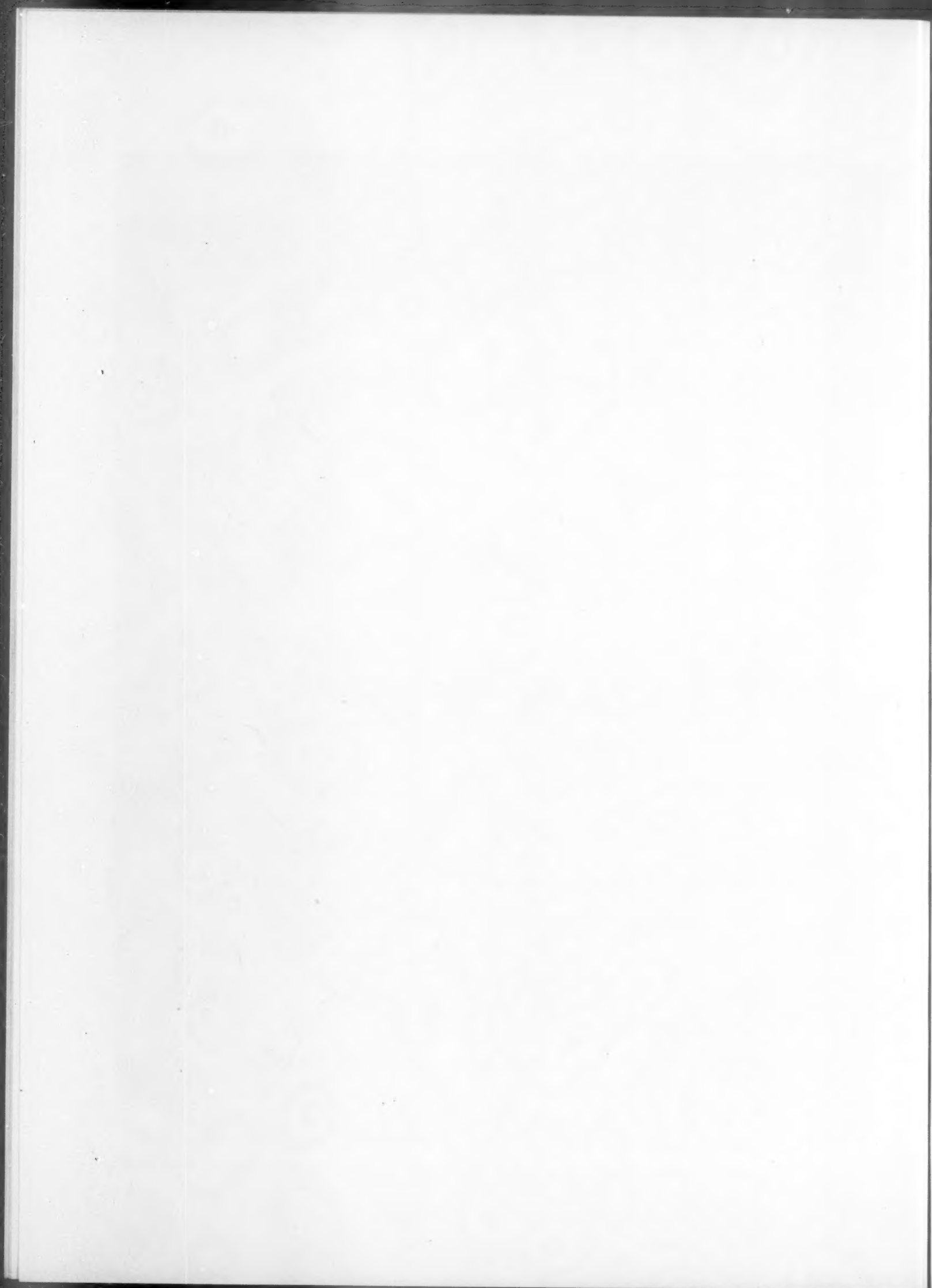


FIG. 43—NEW YORK, MORGAN LIBRARY: FRONT COVER OF ASHBURNHAM GOSPELS. ST.-DENIS GOLDSMITH'S WORK OF THE IX CENTURY



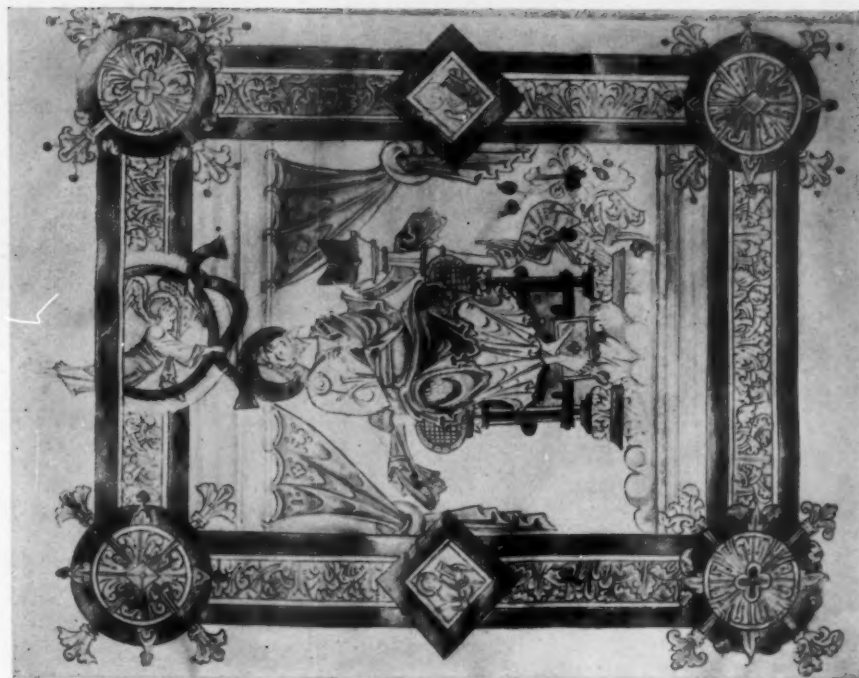


FIG. 45—CAMBRIDGE, PEMBROKE COLLEGE: LATIN GOSPELS.  
ST. MATTHEW

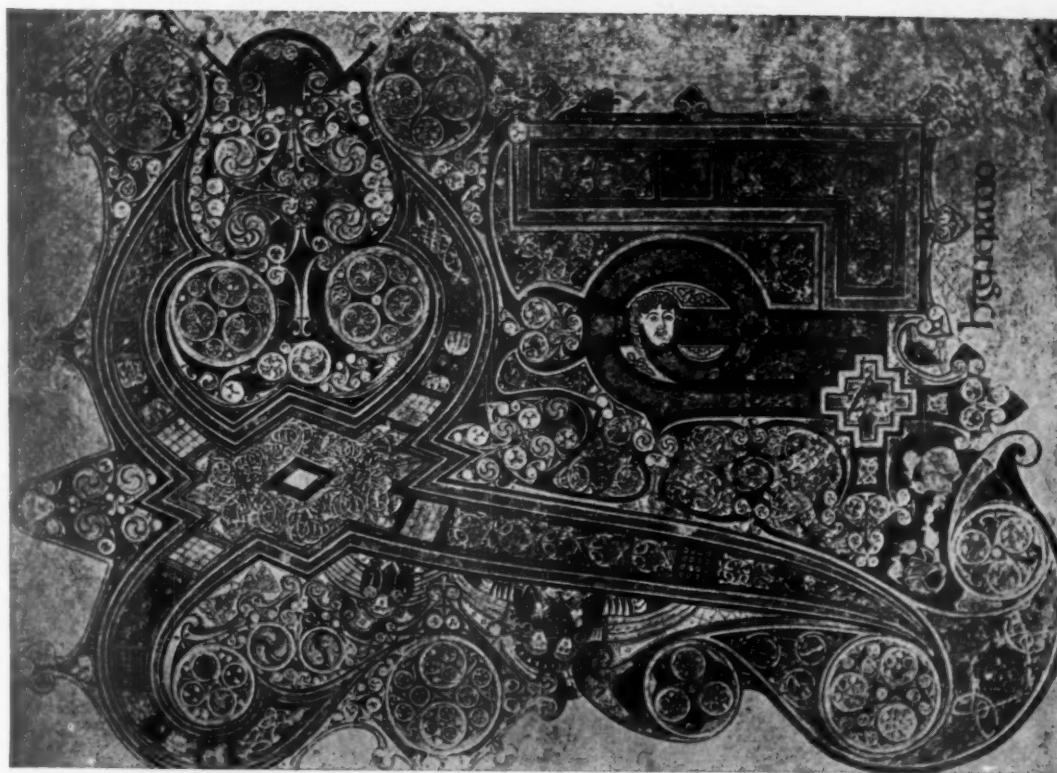
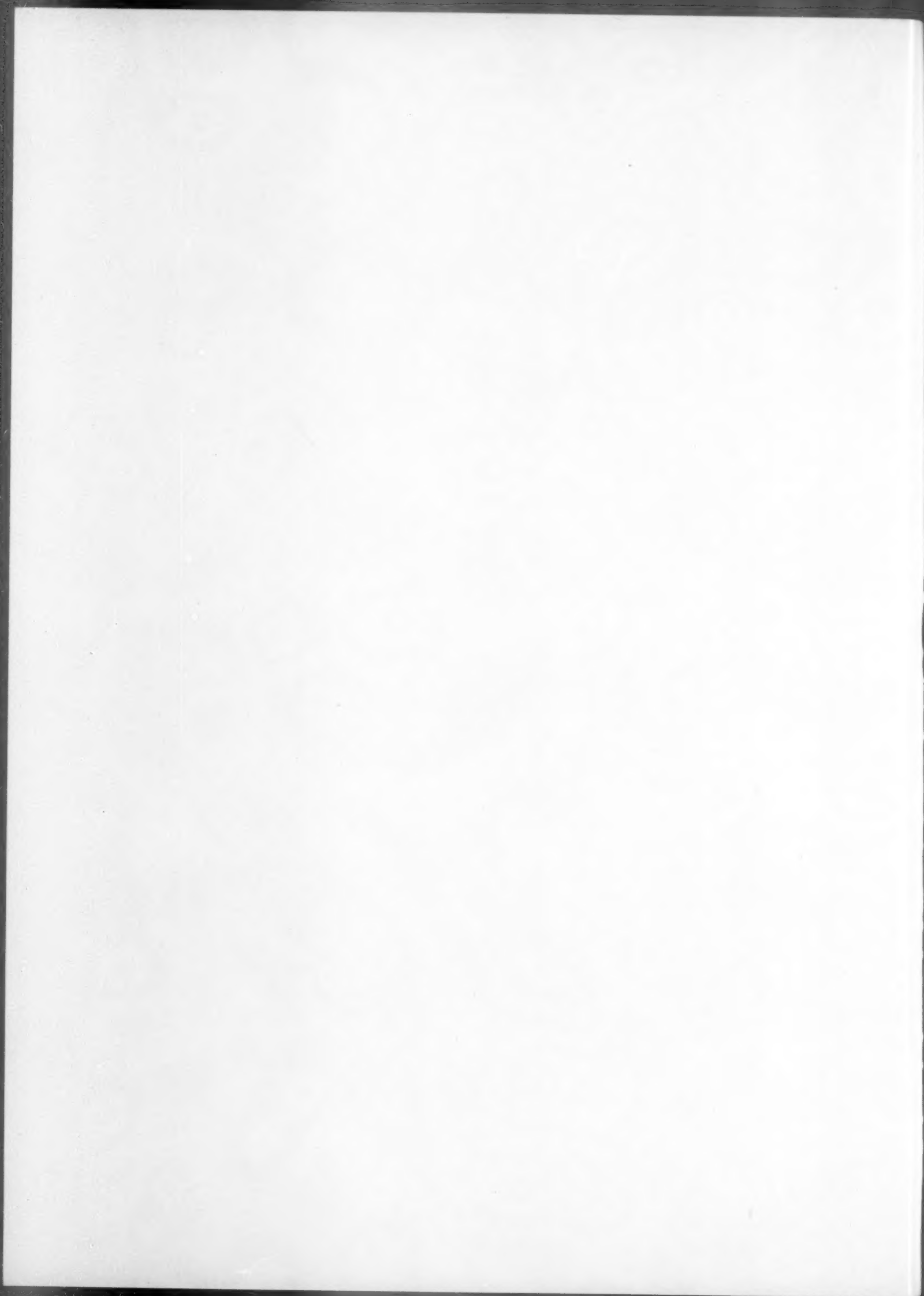


FIG. 44—DUBLIN, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY: BOOK OF KELLS. INITIAL TO  
MATTHEW





so greatly enlightened students of mediæval art, overlooked this factor in its composition. His demonstration of Early Christian and Byzantine art as resulting from the interaction of the Greek mind, that loved the distinction of form, and the Oriental emotional point of view, that found expression in the vagueness of light and shade, is very clear and convincing, but when he attempts to explain Romanesque and Gothic by the combination of the same two factors and nothing else, one feels that something has been left out. That something is the leaven which made the Middle Ages, the powerful action of the northern temperament on the antique inheritance, embodied not in Oriental color, nor in classic form, but in barbarian love for linear movement.

This northern mode of composition is not rhythmic, like the Oriental, nor architectonic, like the Greek, nor illusionistic, like the Latin; it depends for unity not on recurrent accents, nor on symmetry, nor even on the illusion of reality. It is rather dynamic—by which I mean that its unity depends on a vitality independent of real existence, a disembodied force expressed in linear movement, like the sweep of the baroque.

Such dynamic quality is indeed apparent at the very outset of mediæval art—in the ornament of Irish manuscripts (Fig. 44 and initial letter of this article). Irish style has no classic foundation, getting its view of antiquity through a glass darkly by way of the Christian revision of the antique. It thus presents us with a pretty pure essence of barbarian style, and admirably illustrates the quality I have just described. An initial of the Book of Kells is utterly unsymmetrical, unrhythmic, and unreal, but nevertheless possessed of a vigorous unity which on reflection we can ascribe to the sheer vitality and continuity of its linear movement.

The same love of linear movement, undisciplined by any æsthetic object save its own vivacity, transformed the color pictures of some Hellenistic manuscript into the spirited pen drawings of the Utrecht Psalter. The school of Reims, which developed this style in the first half of the ninth century, forced it into other schools, and by the middle of the century it is the prevailing figure style of Carolingian France. One Carolingian school alone stood aloof in the main from its influence, and of this we shall speak later on. The rest adopted it, and it passed with other inheritance of early Carolingian art to that eclectic school (Fig. 43) of the second half of the ninth century and of the tenth which Mr. Friend has recently identified with the abbey of St.-Denis at Paris.<sup>1</sup> From there it went to England in the wake of the Benedictine monastic system imported into England from France in the tenth century, and became the progenitor of Anglo-Saxon drawing (Fig. 41). The old acanthus borders of the Reims school, inclosed between bands that imitate the borders of the illusionistic manuscripts of the Alexandrian and Latin varieties, were developed by the school of St.-Denis, and far more by the Anglo-Saxon painters, in whose hands the acanthus took on a luxuriance that makes it look like a growing plant (Fig. 45). This style of ornament is characteristic in the tenth and eleventh centuries of the English school of Winchester, while at Canterbury there emerged another type, with coiling stems and small leaves borrowed from Winchester, and marked chiefly by the bird and animal heads that gnaw the stems with jaw or beak. There seems to be no reason to seek the origin of Canterbury ornament outside of England, since its source is apparently the old Irish spiral and interlace.

With the school of Winchester, we have arrived, in the evolution of the illusionistic style, at the eleventh century. But we must remember that in tracing this evolution we left behind one school—the Carolingian one which resisted the enticements of the lyric manner of Reims. This school was located in the Rhine valley at the end of the eighth

<sup>1</sup>A. M. Friend, Jr., *Carolingian Art in the Abbey of St. Denis*; *Art Studies*, I, 1923, pp. 67-75.

and the beginning of the ninth century, and presumably at the court of Charlemagne at Aachen. We call it the Ada school, because one of its manuscripts was written and illuminated for a putative sister of Charlemagne by that name. I take up the school at this point because it has a curious connection with England.

When St. Augustine came to England at the end of the sixth century, he must have brought his liturgical books along with him. When Benedict Biscop made his visits to Rome at the end of the seventh century, we know that he brought back to his abbeys of Jarrow and Wearmouth in Northumbria a very large number of books from Rome and South Italy, some of them illuminated, including one still in existence, at least in part. This is the first part of the famous Codex Amiatinus at Florence, which was illustrated in Cassiodorus' monastery in South Italy, while the latter part was illuminated in Northumbria.<sup>1</sup> Previous to such importations, the English artists had no figure tradition save that of the Irish illuminators (see the cover design of this magazine), who drew their saints and evangelists like penmen, so that they resemble nothing so much as the kings and jacks of playing cards. But the Italian art conveyed by the importations of illuminated books, through the agency of such missionaries as Augustine and Biscop, disciplined the Irish barbarian style into some semblance of antique form. We must remember however that in the sixth and seventh centuries the prevailing Italian style was Asiatic (Fig. 7), and the Anglo-Irish artists therefore give us painfully constructed imitations of evangelists posed in profile after such models as the Gospel of Rossano; one can see the reminiscence of a Greek source in the Greek word AGIOS which is still retained by the artist of the Gospel of Lindisfarne (Fig. 46). All the evangelists of the Lindisfarne Gospel retain the Greek word in their titles, but not all of them retain the Asiatic profile; one is still seated in full face after the Irish manner.

Thus were two heterogeneous elements fused in the hot fire of Anglo-Celtic faith, and our farthest eastern style combined with that of the farthest west. The curious Anglo-Irish-Asiatic mixture thus produced was the style of Northumbria when Alcuin of York was invited by Charlemagne to preside over the palace school at Aachen, and books like the Gospel of Lindisfarne undoubtedly formed part of Alcuin's baggage when he went to the Rhine and part of the material he used in his revision of the Vulgate text of the Bible (Fig. 47). The early manuscripts of the Ada school seem to have based their art on such Northumbrian models, and from them derived their curious awkward compromise between the full-face and the profile Evangelist, and perhaps through them, from some Asiatic source, the strange architectural background which appears in this school alone during the Carolingian period. It may be however that these architectural backgrounds (Fig. 48) are derived from direct imitation of Asiatic models, like the favorite Ada *motif* of the tempietto, which is so like a Syrian miniature in the Gospel of Etschmiadzin in Armenia. Certainly the Ada school was technically far in advance of the Northumbrian, as one would expect from its later date and its Carolingian stimulus; to the tradition of Northumbrian figure style and Irish ornament it added many another *motif* from objects of art brought up from Italy, and from impressions derived in pilgrimages to Rome and

<sup>1</sup>H. G. White (*Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica*, II, pp. 273-308) and others have suggested that we have in the first quaternion of the Codex Amiatinus, not an actual portion of Cassiodorus' Codex Grandior, but a copy thereof made while Cassiodorus' manuscript was in Northumbria. Against this is the overwhelming evidence of the author portrait which appears in the first quaternion, and which shows a style completely beyond the powers of the Northumbrian artists of the time. This miniature is, on the other hand, quite what one would expect in Cassiodorus' South Italian monastery in the sixth century; the seated writing figure imitates Asiatic types such as the Mark in the Rossanensis, and the scrinium with its books reminds one of the similar bookcase in the mosaic of the martyrdom of St. Lawrence in the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna.



FIG. 46—LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM: GOSPEL OF LINDISFARNE, FOL. 25; NORTHUMBRIA. VIII CENTURY



FIG. 47—LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM: GOLDEN GOSPEL. ADA SCHOOL. IX CENTURY

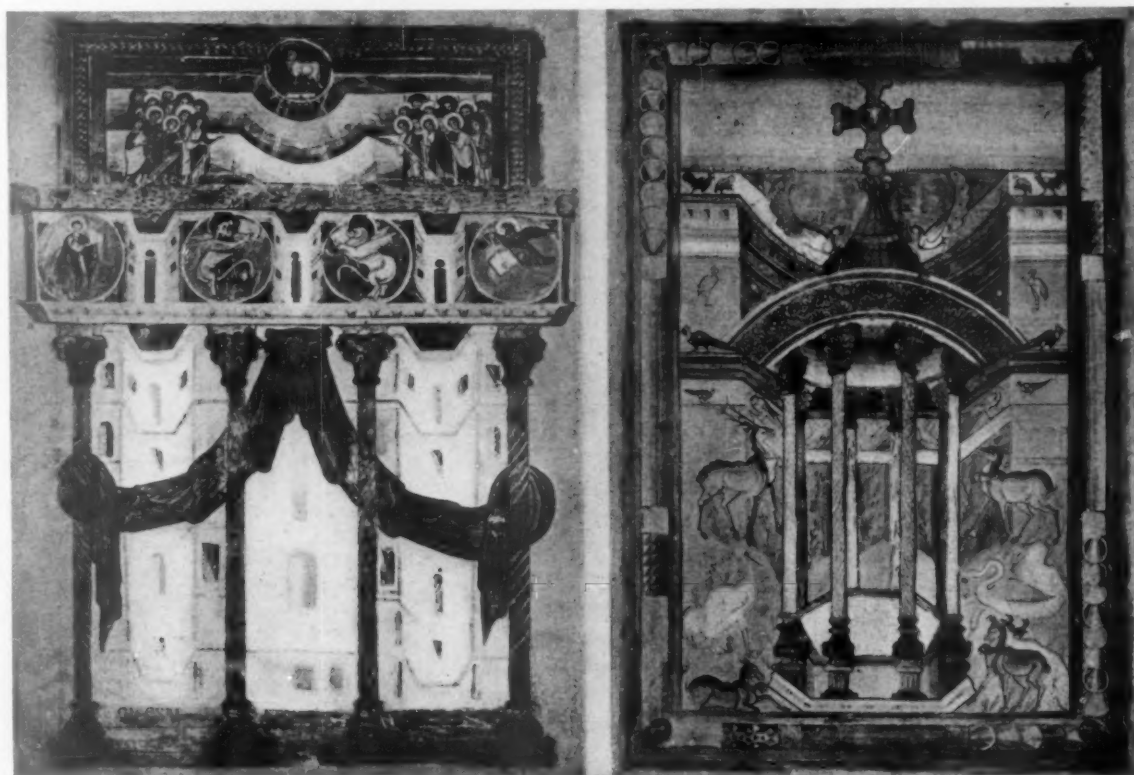


FIG. 48—PARIS, BIBL. NAT.: GOSPEL OF ST.-MÉDARD-DE-SOISSONS. ADA SCHOOL. IX CENTURY









FIG. 49—MODENA, CATHEDRAL: FRIEZE. LAMECH SLAYS CAIN; THE ARK OF NOAH

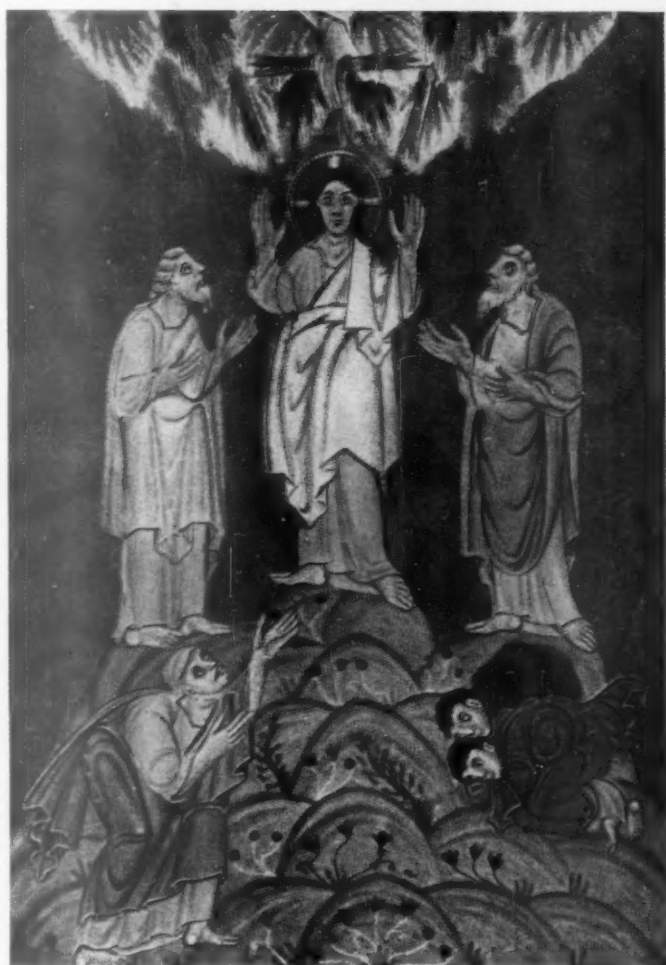


FIG. 50—MUNICH, LIBRARY: GOSPEL OF OTTO III. TRANSFIGURATION. XI CENTURY



FIG. 51—POITIERS, BIBL. MUNICIPALE: LIFE OF ST. RADEGONDE, MS. 250, FOL. 21 v.





FIG. 54—SOULLAC, CHURCH:  
RELIEF

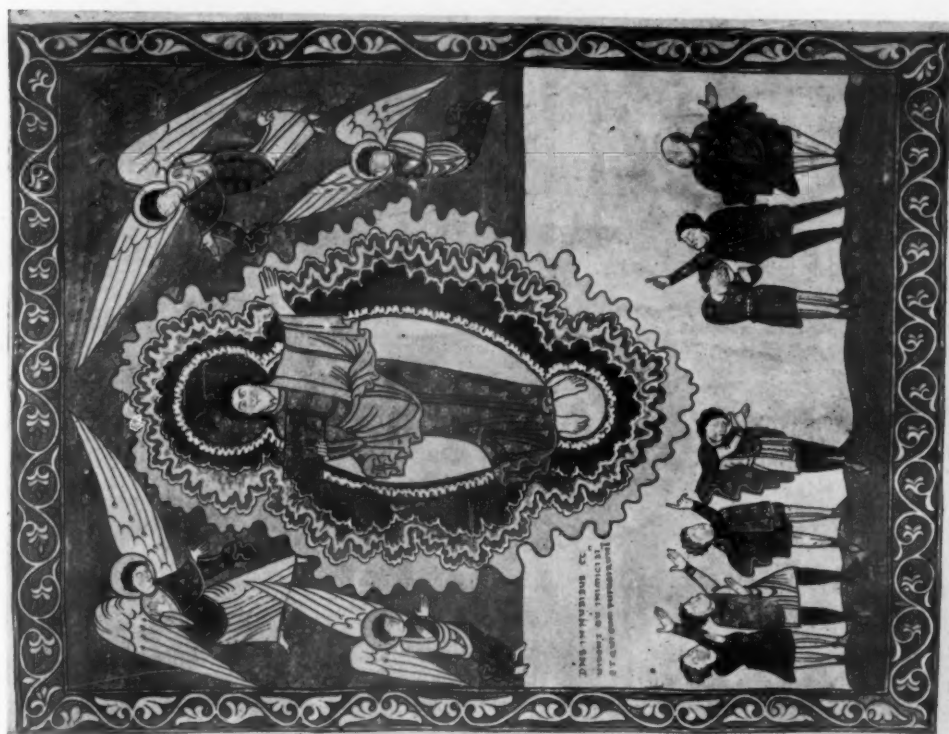


FIG. 53—PARIS, BIBL. NAT.: MS. LAT. 8878, FOL. 29, ST. SEVER BEATUS



FIG. 52—VICH, EPISCOPAL MUSEUM: COD. I, FOL.  
170, MORALIA OF GREGORY





visits to Ravenna. The Asiatic influence which one discerns in the Ada manuscripts is at any rate mostly derived through Italy.

The Ada school is thus a melting together of the most heterogeneous elements—Latin, Asiatic, Irish, and even Egyptian—and by this fact the natural product of its period, the next step onward in Continental art after the last phases of the antique. It differs thus from the styles of Tours and Reims, which we have seen to be rather throw-backs to earlier and better models. It presumably centered in the capital of Charlemagne at Aachen, and was certainly at any rate a product of the Rhine. On the Ada manuscripts was based the style that developed later in the Rheinland, and even as far afield as Saxony, from the end of the tenth into the eleventh century, during that renaissance of art in Germany which is called Ottonian after the three Ottos of the Saxon imperial house. One of these, Otto II, married a Greek princess, Theophano, and whether from this circumstance or from others, the Ottonian style in Germany shows from the start a strong bias toward the principles, and a faithful imitation of the forms, of the proto-Byzantine style of Asia Minor. The closest parallels to its early miniatures are to be found in the pictures of the Vienna Genesis (Fig. 5) or the Sinope Gospel, and its imitation of such Asiatic models was direct, not, as before, through the medium of Italy. It took much of its ornament from the leafwork of St.-Denis, to add to the geometric repertory which it inherited from the Ada school, and from this, and the Irish interlaces of St. Gall, developed its characteristic plaited initial. But its figure style in the main is the Ada type modified by the strong influence of the Asiatic models above-mentioned (Fig. 50).

The resulting aspect of Romanesque design in Germany is in sharp contrast to that of France and England in that it retains an antique conservatism as to movement and gesture and molds its figures into more plastic shapes than does the nervous, lyric, volatile manner of the West. From Asia Minor come the sharp sidewise glance of the eye, the firm drawing, and the classic formulæ of drapery. The barbarian factor has its effect here as elsewhere in the gradual transformation toward a racial ideal of these antique models, so that when the eleventh century is reached the faces have acquired the staring eye, the gestures the uncouth emphasis, and the forms the crude misshapen power that express a Teutonic ideal of effective force rather than one of physical or moral beauty. The heavy, undulating hair of these saints and patriarchs of Ottonian style, their way of jutting the head forward on the shoulders, and their flapper feet, appear again in the Lombard sculpture (Fig. 49) of Guglielmus and Nicola at the beginning of the twelfth century in Northern Italy.<sup>1</sup>

The further evolution of mediæval style it is not the purpose of this paper to trace. The spread of English style on the continent is apparent to all who have concerned themselves with manuscripts illuminated in France, both north and south, and in Spain, in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. In the south of France we find Winchester drawing and Winchester ornament in the Life of Ste.-Radegonde at Poitiers (Fig. 51), and the Beatus of St.-Sever in Gascony (Fig. 53) combines as well the late Latin tradition with the new emotional manner from beyond the Channel. In Catalonia the miniatures of the Roda Bible begin to take over the fluttering drapery, vigorous movement, and rolling ground line of England in the second half of the eleventh century; the rest of Spain adopts its own peculiar translation of the style somewhat later (Fig. 52).<sup>2</sup> It is *a fortiori* the leading style in North France and Belgium in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, and through the latter region it meets and affects the German manner. We find it lastly penetrating

<sup>1</sup>C. R. Morey, *The Sources of Romanesque Sculpture*, *The Art Bulletin*, II, 1919, pp. 10-16.

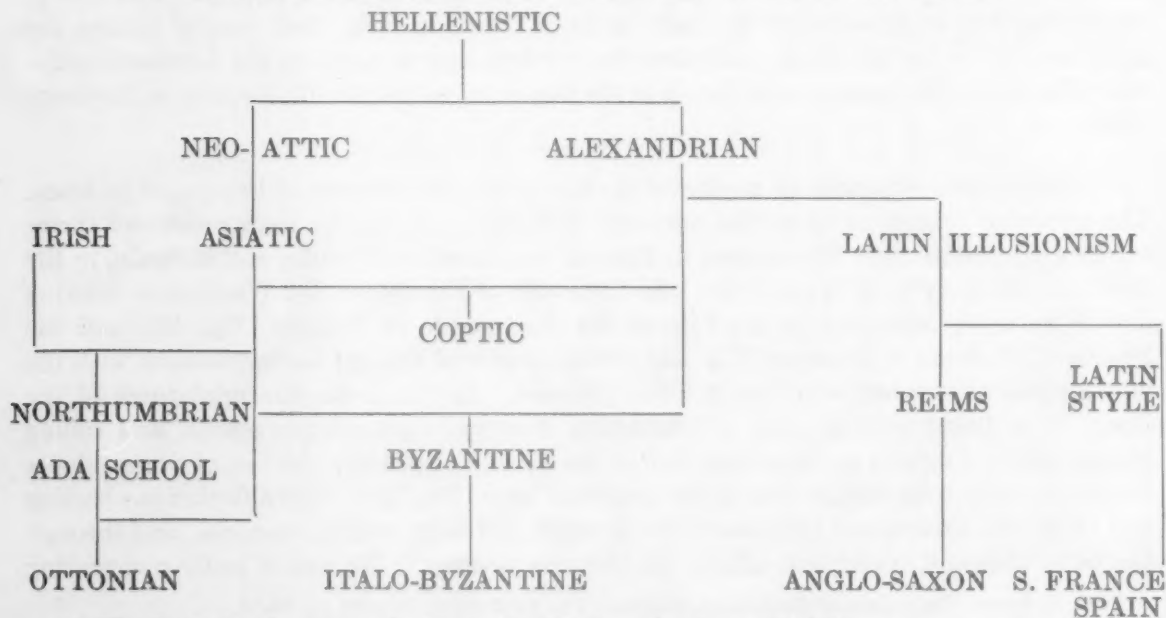
<sup>2</sup>For a discussion of Spanish style see the articles by Walter W. S. Cook in *The Art Bulletin*, V and VI, and *Art Studies*, II.

into Burgundy, and well illustrated by the Bible of Stephen Harding the Englishman, third abbot of Cîteaux at the beginning of the twelfth century. Thence it passes into the sculpture style that Burgundian Cluny spread over the rest of France,<sup>1</sup> whereby we may explain the curious analogy between Winchester drawing and the Cluniac sculpture of Languedoc (Fig. 54).

We find then that the eleventh century found Europe possessed of four styles, each of which can be traced to one or another of the two original divisions of Hellenistic art. There is the Ada-Asiatic style of Ottonian Germany, which issues in Lombard sculpture; there is the Byzantine, which prepares the ground for Italian painting; there is the old substratum of Latin style in southern France and Spain, beginning to yield here and there to a foreign style of far more expressive power; and there is lastly this foreign style itself, the most powerful factor in Romanesque, the vigorous lyric English manner which is the most expressive vehicle of barbaric passion and force. To it we owe the best of Romanesque sculpture in France. An art of linear movement, it was a characteristic development of English genius, which with difficulty expressed itself in form. It dominated western Europe as long as an emotional mode was desired and needed; when the fervor of the Romanesque began to yield to organization and discipline, the intellectual leaven that worked this change had need of form, and linear movement was gradually replaced by symmetry and static strength. But this last is Gothic and another story than the one we have been following from the first century to the twelfth.

As a working hypothesis, this theory of the evolution of early mediæval style has so far met the tests provided by new monuments, and has accounted for all the vicissitudes to be met with in the main currents of art from antiquity to Gothic. One must follow, in fact, the main currents alone, to avoid being lost in the countless eddies and backwaters of style. If this be done, the significant course of mediæval style can be plotted with certainty, and followed back to the two parent streams into which the Hellenistic divided—the Neo-Attic and the Alexandrian.

#### DIAGRAM TO ILLUSTRATE THE EVOLUTION OF STYLE IN EARLY MEDIÆVAL ART



<sup>1</sup>A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, ch. VII, VIII.

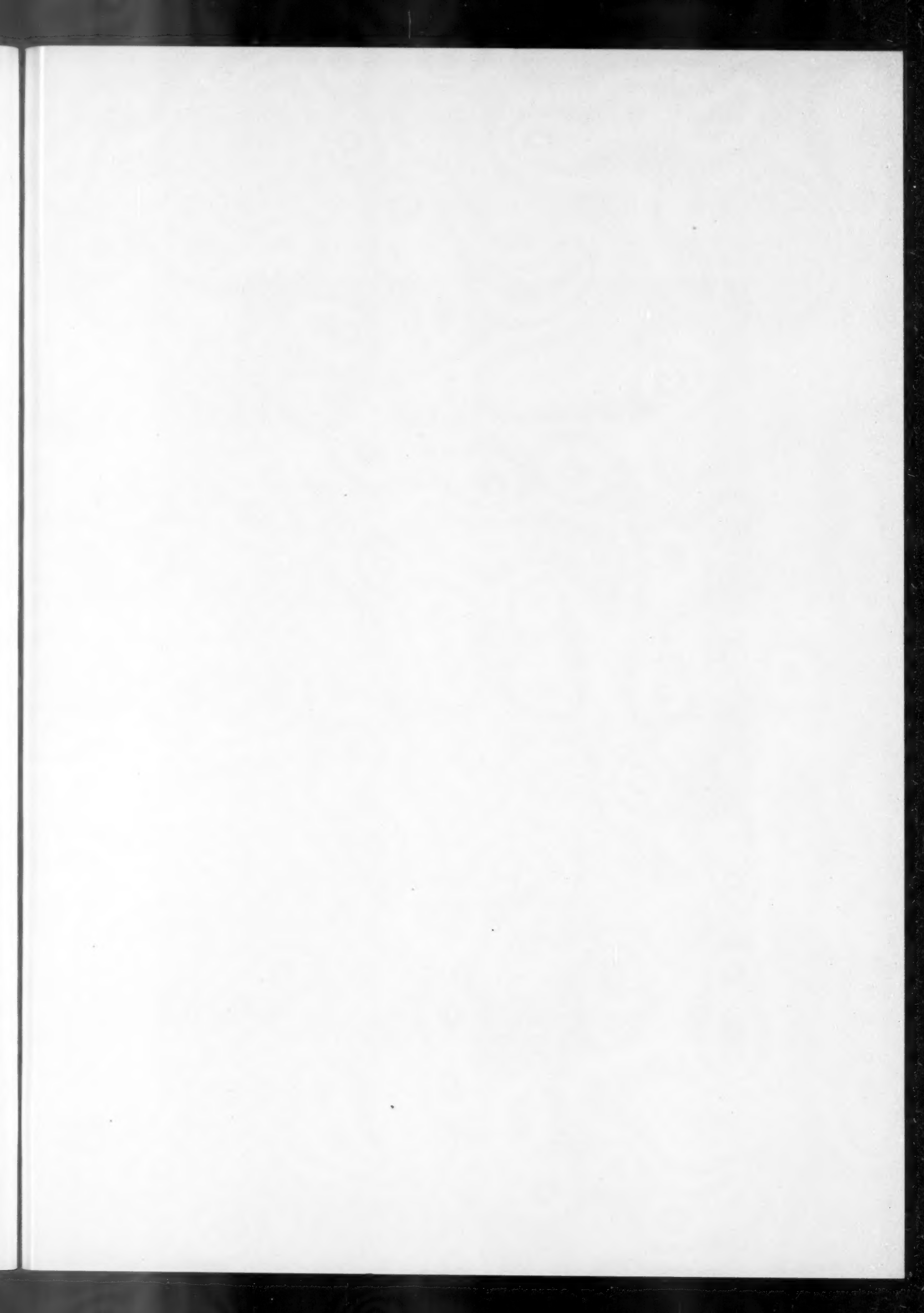




FIG. 1—NEW YORK, COLLECTION OF MR. PHILIP LEHMAN: ST. JEROME AS CARDINAL BY EL GRECO



## Spanish and French Paintings in the Lehman Collection

BY WALTER W. S. COOK

The Philip Lehman collection is best known for its well chosen examples of Italian and Flemish primitives. There are, however, representative works of other European schools, such as those of Spain, France, Holland, and England, and it is our purpose in this paper to discuss the Spanish and French paintings.<sup>1</sup> The three great aspects of the pictorial art of the Peninsula are represented in the work of the mystic El Greco, the aristocratic Velasquez, and the popular Goya, the first of the moderns. The early French school is illustrated by two small portraits by Corneille de Lyon.

### (1) St. Jerome as Cardinal by El Greco

The earliest Spanish picture in the Lehman collection is a half-length representation of St. Jerome as Cardinal (Fig. 1). He is seated at a table with an open volume before him; his left hand rests on one page and he points with his right thumb at an inscription written on the inner margin of the other page. His stubby, closely cropped hair and his long, thin beard are silver-grey. His nose is long, his ears large, and his eyes dark and piercing. The cardinal's *cappa magna*, with a loose, wide collar and a row of buttons down the front, is treated in broad fields of deep, rich red. The white sleeves of the rochet appear from underneath the cape, and the crimson cassock is visible at the wrists. The biretta is not shown. The velvet tablecloth is bright green, and the figure is placed against a dark green background. Nothing is known of the history of the canvas (which measures 1.08 x .87 m.) beyond the fact that it was formerly in the collection of the Marqués del Arco at Madrid. It has been dated by Cossio in El Greco's latest period, between the years 1604 and 1614.<sup>2</sup>

The picture has been variously interpreted as a portrait of Cardinal Quiroga, as a portrait of Ludovico Cornaro, and as an idealized representation of St. Jerome as Cardinal. The false identification of the personage as Cardinal Quiroga, Archbishop of Toledo, was first made by Justi and followed by San Pere y Miquel. Cossio effectually dispelled this myth by the publication of the true portrait of the archbishop, also by El Greco and now in the Beruete collection at Madrid.<sup>3</sup>

The second erroneous interpretation is to be traced to a canvas in the National Gallery (Fig. 2).<sup>4</sup> Here subject and composition are the same as in the Lehman picture,

<sup>1</sup>I am indebted to Mr. Robert Lehman for his kind permission to reproduce some of the illustrations as well as for numerous other courtesies received during the preparation of this article. I am also grateful to others who have kindly furnished me with photographs, especially to the Frick Art Reference Library, Mr. Harry Payne Bingham, Mr. Hamilton Bell, Miss Belle da Costa Greene, and Mr. Charles H. Hawes.

<sup>2</sup>Manuel B. Cossio, *El Greco*, Madrid, 1908, p. 565.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 411-416, pl. 120. Don Gaspar de Quiroga (1513-1594), a Castilian by birth, was one of the most important members of the Spanish clergy during the latter half of the reign of Philip II. A divinity student and canon of Santa Cruz at Valladolid, he held various ecclesiastical offices at Alcalá de Henares, Plasencia, Rome, Cuenca, and Toledo. He was the archbishop of Toledo for several years. In the Beruete canvas, a bust portrait which is the only known profile portrait executed by El Greco, he is shown with a biretta and *cappa magna*. An inscription across the top of the picture, which reads: D. GASPAR DE QUIROGA. FVNDADOR DESTA REFVJIO, shows that this portrait was painted by El Greco for the Refuge of Toledo, which was founded by the archbishop. That the inscription is not spurious is proved by the fact that the portrait resembles a medal of the archbishop, now in the Archaeological Museum at Madrid, which was engraved by Pedro Angelo at Toledo. It is obvious at a glance that the prelate shown in this picture, who has a short beard, bears no resemblance to the cardinal in the Lehman portrait.

<sup>4</sup>National Gallery: *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the British and Foreign Pictures*, 81st. ed., London, 1913, no. 1122, p. 313. Formerly in the Hamilton Palace collection, *Sale Catalogue*, July 1, 1882, p. 97, no. 748.

although the London example is much smaller (.584 x .469 m.) and differs in color and technique. Cossio assigns this work to El Greco's Italian period.<sup>1</sup> An inscription—CORNARO. AET. SUAE 100-1556—written on the lower margin of the right-hand page of the book in this picture suggested the identification of the sitter as Luigi Cornaro of Padua (1467-1566), the author of *Discorsi della vita sobria*.<sup>2</sup> Again, Cossio disproved the interpretation: the inscription is a later addition, and the sitter bears no resemblance to Cornaro as portrayed by Tintoretto.<sup>3</sup>

The identification of the cardinal as St. Jerome was suggested to Cossio by the fact that in a late copy of our composition, formerly in the Hernández collection at Madrid, there appears in the upper left-hand corner an angel with a trumpet, an attribute of St. Jerome. The subject is mentioned in the inventory of El Greco's effects made after his death, where two small pictures are described as representing St. Jerome.

El Greco's partiality for this St. Jerome composition is attested by three more examples, one in the collection of the Marqués del Castro Serna at Madrid, another in the Bonnat collection at Bayonne, and the third in the Henry Clay Frick collection at New York.

The Castro Serna picture (Fig. 3) is small (.64 x .54 m.) like that in London but with these variations: more of the book is shown than in the London canvas, the collar of the *cappa magna* is less accentuated, the nose appears longer, the mouth turns down more sharply at the corners, the gaze of the eyes is shifted more to the right, and the intense expression of the countenance is more strongly emphasized. Because of the brush work, which is broader here, Cossio would place this picture later than the London example, dating it 1584-1594.

The smallest of the five replicas (.305 x .24 m.) is in the Bonnat collection (Fig. 4).<sup>4</sup> The hands and book are omitted; the color is applied with a less heavily loaded brush than in the London picture. Cossio suggests that the Bonnat example may have been the earliest of the series and may have served as a point of departure for the later works, in which the book and hands are added.

The life-size portrait (1.11 x .96 m.) formerly in the cathedral treasury of Valladolid and now in the Frick collection (Fig. 5)<sup>5</sup> is closer to the Lehman picture in style, technique, and date than to any of the works already discussed. Although at first glance the two appear to be identical, slight differences may be noted. In the Frick picture the eyes are a trifle smaller and the silvery hair and beard whiter, as if the model were two or three years older, and, particularly, the reds of the *cappa magna* are lighter and the shadows in the sleeves of the rochet less strongly emphasized. The canvas is painted more thinly and the actual brush strokes are less apparent than in the Lehman picture. The hands are strongly outlined and the fingers are a trifle longer. The date proposed by Cossio for this work,<sup>6</sup> the decade between 1584 and 1594, is too early. Mayer's suggestion that it was painted after the year 1600, about the same period as the Frick Expulsion, is

<sup>1</sup>Cossio, *op. cit.*, p. 94. The dating is based on the close similarity between the head in the London picture and a bearded apostle in an early Expulsion from the Temple, executed by El Greco before he went to Spain.

<sup>2</sup>Because of this inscription the picture, when in the Hamilton Palace collection, was thought to be a portrait of Doge Cornaro by Titian.

<sup>3</sup>Now in the Pitti Palace.

<sup>4</sup>Gustave Gréyer, *Musée de Bayonne, collection Bonnat, catalogue sommaire*, 1908, p. 14, no. 12.

<sup>5</sup>Acquired in 1904 by Sr. Parés from the cathedral treasury of Valladolid. Reproduced in *Forma*, Barcelona, 1904, p. 196, where it is called "Cardinal Quiroga;" Cossio, *op. cit.*, pp. 96, 595-596; August L. Mayer, *El Greco*, Munich, 1916, p. 55. Exhibited at the Loan Exhibition of Paintings by El Greco and Goya, M. Knoedler & Co., *Catalogue*, 1915, no. 35, p. 37. This was also exhibited several years ago at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.

<sup>6</sup>Cossio, *op. cit.*, pp. 595-596.

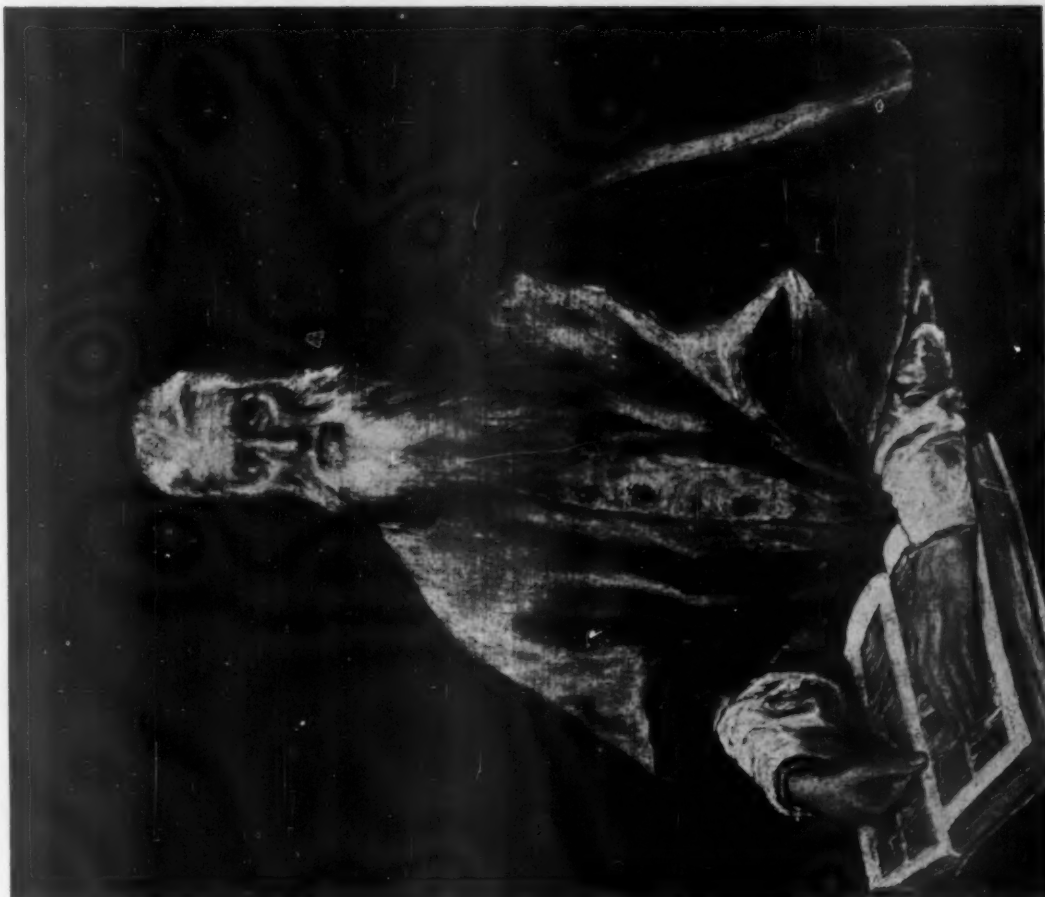


FIG. 3—MADRID, CASTRO SERNA COLLECTION: ST. JEROME AS CARDINAL BY EL GRECO



FIG. 2—LONDON, NATIONAL GALLERY: ST. JEROME AS CARDINAL BY EL GRECO



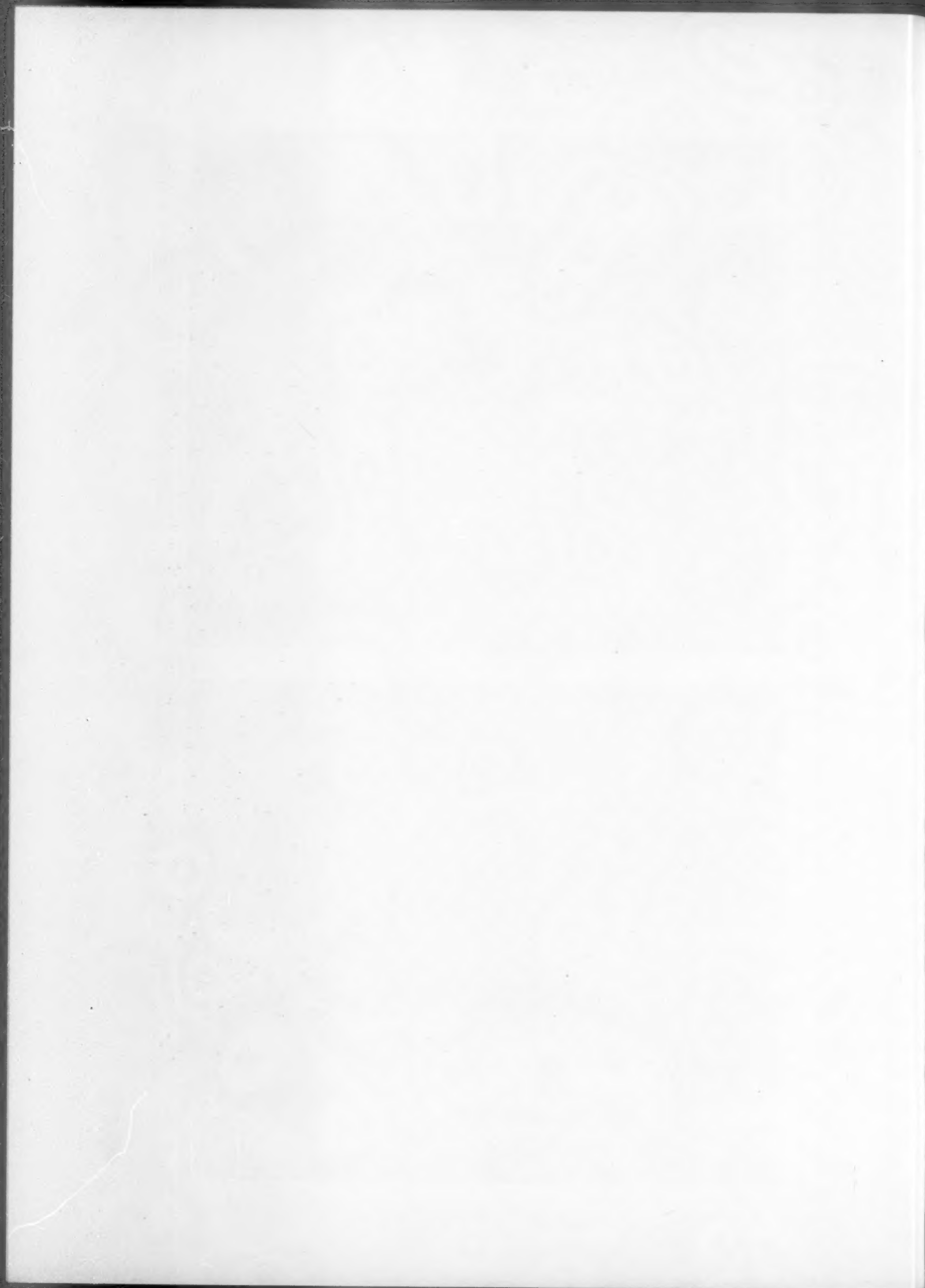
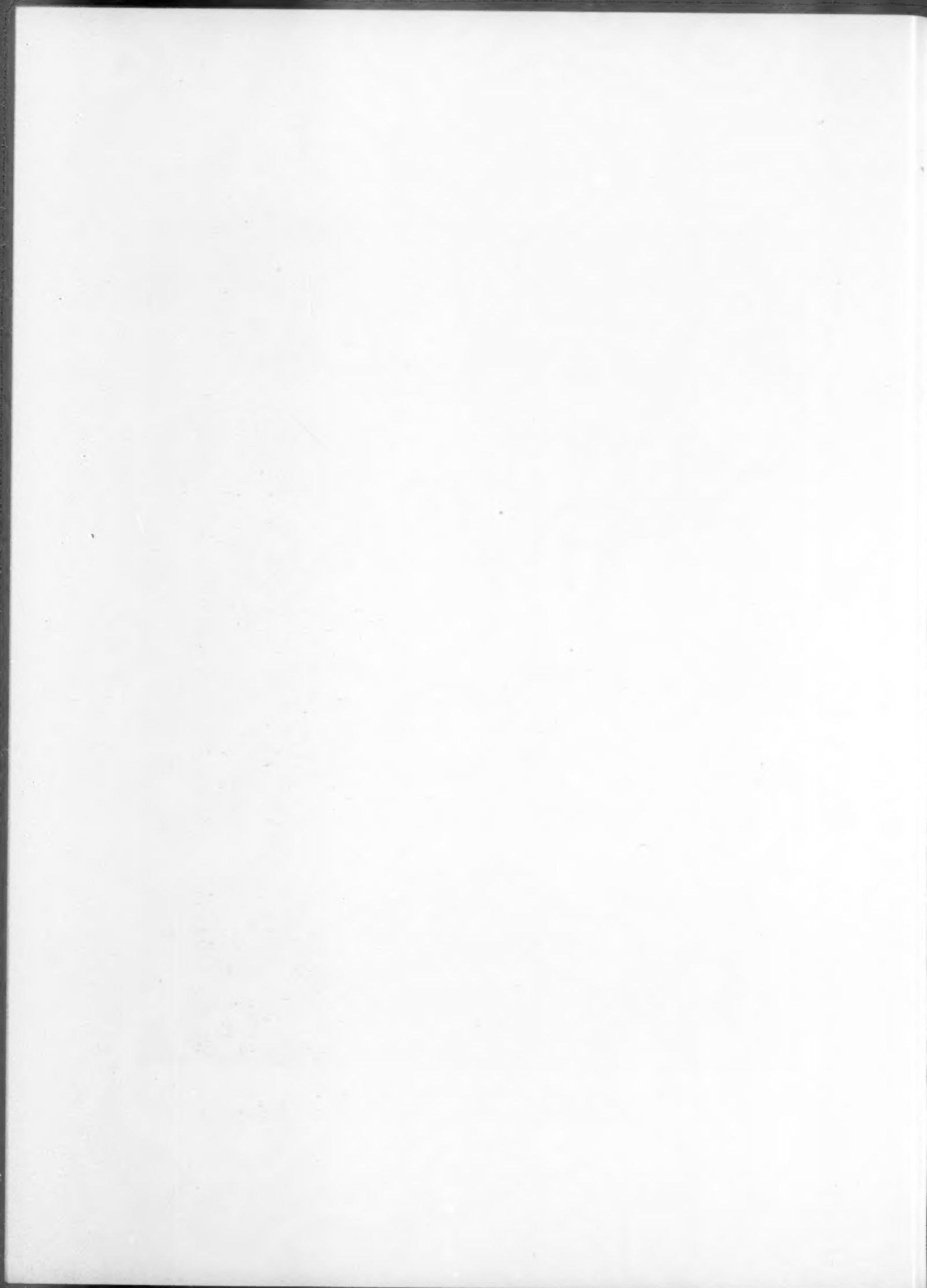






FIG. 4—BAYONNE, BONNAT COLLECTION: ST. JEROME AS CARDINAL BY EL GRECO



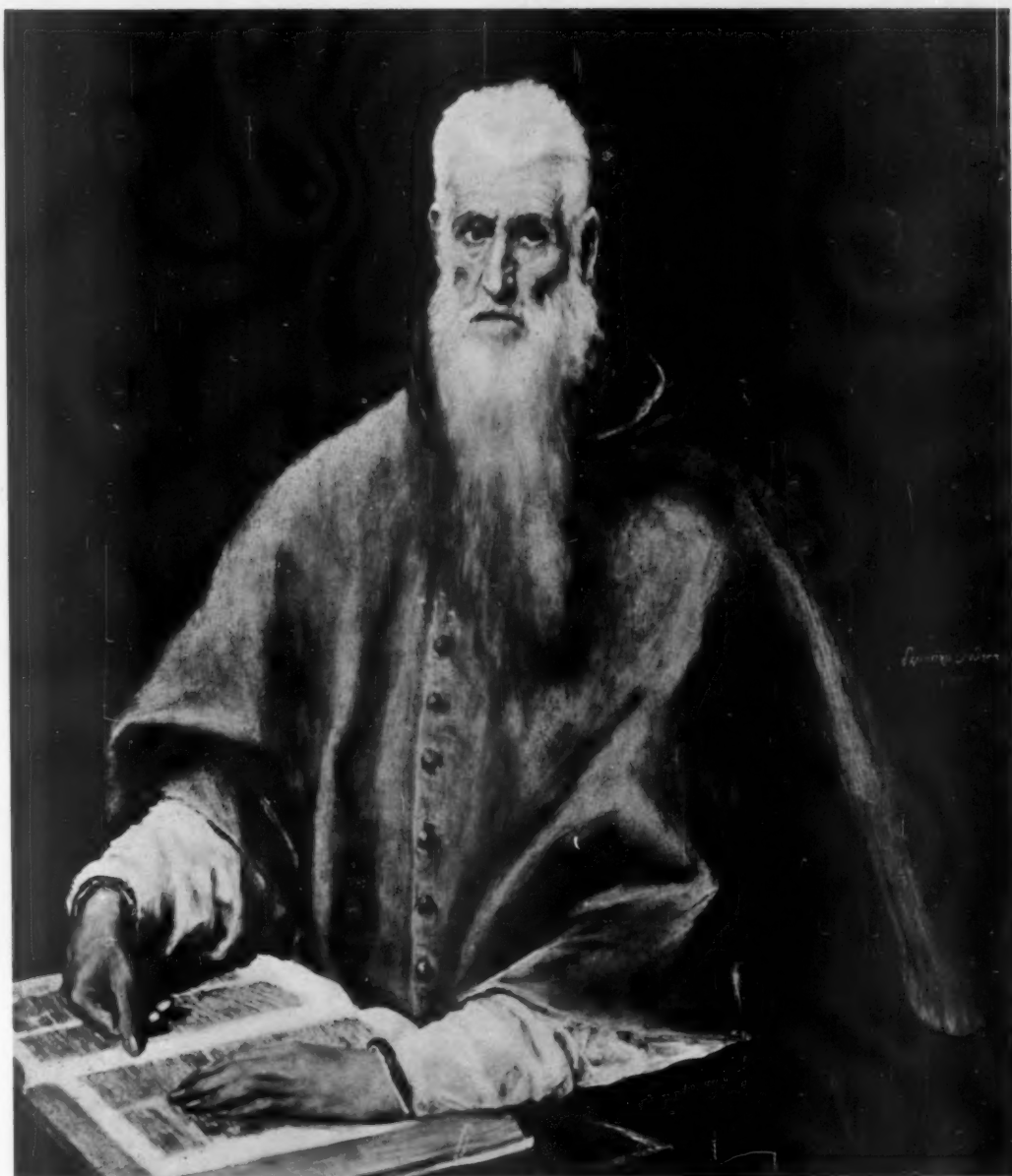


FIG. 5—NEW YORK, HENRY CLAY FRICK COLLECTION: ST. JEROME AS CARDINAL BY EL GRECO

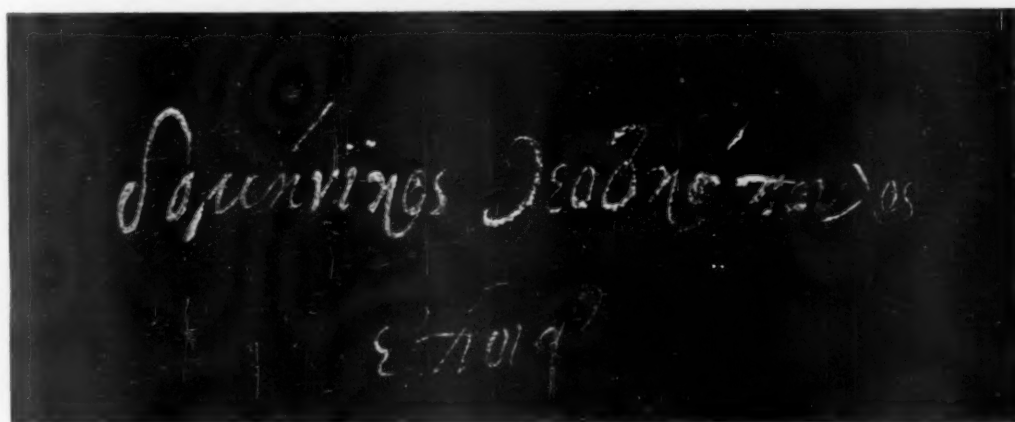


FIG. 6—FACSIMILE OF EL GRECO'S SIGNATURE ON THE PICTURE ABOVE





much more probable;<sup>1</sup> for, as in the Lehman picture, the brush work shows a breadth and swiftness of execution more characteristic of El Greco's later style.

The Frick picture has the distinction of being the only signed canvas in this series. The full signature, in Greek uncials, appears on the middle right: Doménikos Theotokópoulos<sup>2</sup> epoi (Fig. 6).<sup>3</sup> This is the form of El Greco's signature most frequently found on his pictures; Theotokópoulos is supposed to have been his family name. He also used two other forms, though less frequently: Domenico Theotocopuli, the Italian version, and Dominico Theotocopuli.<sup>4</sup>

It is unusual to find five works by El Greco so nearly identical. He frequently repeated a religious subject, such as the Magdalene, Christ with the Cross, St. Francis, the Crucifixion, the Adoration of the Shepherds, but in these cases the versions show great differences of composition, interpretation, and style. As far as can be judged on internal evidence, our group extends over a long period. As noted above, Cossio places the Bayonne canvas earliest and considers that, like the London example, which followed and which betrays the influence of Tintoretto's technique, this also was executed in Italy; the Castro Serna example is assigned to the middle Toledo period; and the Lehman and Frick versions must be regarded as late works, executed after 1600. The style of the earliest two may well show Italian influence, as Cossio suggests, but the later works are pre-eminently Spanish, and from the standpoint of quality and preservation the Frick and Lehman canvases rank among the finest of El Greco's creations.

Sharp, bold, unequivocal expression of character was his chief object in this portrayal of St. Jerome. But the picture was not inspired by any particular model. El Greco's portraits, as Professor Post has remarked, "are rather themes for his own improvisation." His characteristic methods are followed in the St. Jerome canvases. Only the upper half of the figure is shown, and the interest is concentrated on the over-nervous, spiritual head and delicate, refined hands. The ascetic features are thrown into sharp relief against the wide expanse of the *cappa magna* and the dark background. The accessories are simple and cold in tone, serving to emphasize the distinction, the intense inner life, and the spiritual powers of the individual. The arrangement and pose of the figure are closely paralleled in the portrait of Cardinal Tavera, now in the Hospital of St. John at Toledo, though there the book is replaced by a biretta. The facial type of St. Jerome, the closely

<sup>1</sup>August L. Mayer, *Paintings by El Greco in America*, in *Art in America*, IV, 1916, p. 327.

<sup>2</sup>El Greco's signature is frequently placed on the canvas as shown in the Frick picture, but he also followed the custom of inscribing his name on a small piece of paper, held by one of the figures in the composition, or placed in one of the lower corners of the picture, as in the Assumption of the Virgin at the Chicago Art Institute. This method he adopted in Italy, where a paper bearing the artist's signature was frequently painted in one of the lower corners. Prior to El Greco's arrival in Spain this custom was seldom followed by Spanish artists, who, when they did sign their works, usually wrote the name along the bottom of the panel or on the frame in a long Latin inscription. It is accordingly not unreasonable to suppose that the introduction into Spain of the Italian custom of signing the name on a small piece of paper must be attributed to El Greco. Later Spanish painters adopted this usage and it appears with increasing frequency during the seventeenth century, as shown by the works of Zurbaran. Velasquez frequently introduced the piece of paper without the signature; in three of his portraits the signature is inscribed on a paper held in the sitter's hand. I am indebted to the courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library for the excellent reproduction of El Greco's signature.

<sup>3</sup>For a general discussion of El Greco's signature see Cossio, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-29; typical signatures are reproduced (*ibid.*, pl. 2). The form "Domenico Theotocopuli," found in contracts and letters of payment, must be the version of his name by which he was known in Italy. After his arrival in Spain the "Domenico" was changed to the form "Dominico," and we thus find his name written during his lifetime as "Domenico Theotocopuli," "Dominico Theotocopuli," or, as on the Frick canvas, the Greek form, "Doménikos Theotokópoulos." Villegas, who was the first to mention El Greco's name in Spain, speaks of him in his *Extravagantes* as "Domenico Theotocopolu of the Greek nation;" Ponz, in the second edition of the *Viage*, uses "Domenico Teotocopoli;" and Cean Bermudez spells the name "Dominico Theotocopoli." In Italy the painter's name often led to confusion. He was variously mentioned by later Italian writers as "Domenico Greco," "Domenico Teoscopoli," "Domenico delle Greche," "Teoscopolis," "Theoscopolis," and "Teoscopoli." To his contemporaries in Spain, however, he was known simply as "the Greek." He may have been called "El Griego," but he was more commonly known by the name which has come down to posterity, "El Greco," which is a mixture of Spanish and Italian.

cropped hair, long beard, and slender hands recall the idealized bust portrait of St. Paul in the Prado. The piercing directness of the eyes, sunk deeply in their sockets like glowing coals of fire, is seen again in El Greco's portrait of himself, also at Madrid. The long nose, indicative of relentless purpose, and the severe mouth, turned sharply down at the corners, at once recall the iron physiognomy in the portrait of the Inquisitor General of Spain, Don Fernando Niño de Guevara, in the Havemeyer collection. The long fingers express delicacy and refinement, and a rigid, unyielding will power is shown by the decisive gesture of the right thumb, pointed downward on the margin of the page. Pitiless coldness and intellectual aloofness are revealed in the long and hungry face. In all El Greco's portraits, whether of living individuals or of idealized saints, there is the same elevated, impenetrable mind. All bear the stamp of superior intellect and race. In this idealization of St. Jerome we see a vivid portrayal of the refinement, the asceticism, the intense religious feeling, and the intellectual power of the sixteenth-century ecclesiastic. It is an epitome of the cold-blooded cruelty, the narrow-minded intolerance, and the religious bigotry of the Spanish Inquisition.

## (2) A Portrait of Maria Theresa by Velasquez

The Lehman portrait of Maria Theresa (Fig. 7), daughter of King Philip IV of Spain and his first wife, Isabella of Bourbon, is the earliest preserved picture of this Spanish princess by the hand of Velasquez. The infanta is shown below the shoulders, in three-quarters view, looking toward the left. She has a high forehead and blue eyes, her dark brown wig is decorated with a white rosette, her cheeks are highly rouged, and her lips show traces of red glazing. A rosette and a double row of pearls ornament her simple grey dress, and the figure is placed against a dark grey background. The picture may possibly be a fragment of a full-length or bust portrait, which at some time in the past has been cut down to the present size (19 x 14½ inches), though the summary treatment of the dress and of the rosette in the hair suggests the possibility that this canvas is a direct study from life for a larger portrait, now lost.<sup>1</sup>

Nothing is known of the early history of this picture beyond the fact that it hung for several years in the Zenon Gallery at Cadiz. On its appearance in the Paris market in 1908<sup>2</sup> it was at once recognized by Beruete as an undoubted original by Velasquez, but the Spanish critic wrongly identified the sitter as Queen Mariana, second wife of Philip IV.<sup>3</sup> The correct identification is due to Mayer, who dates the work about 1649, before Velasquez's second Italian journey. The princess was then eleven years of age.

The general confusion of the portraits of Mariana and Maria Theresa is not at all surprising in view of the fact that the step mother was the first cousin of the infanta and only three years her senior.<sup>4</sup> The error began with Justi, who believed that Mariana was

<sup>1</sup>Dr. Max J. Friedländer has suggested this probability and cites the work of Cranach as an analogy. Cranach frequently made from life a preliminary study of the head, which is much finer in quality than the finished portrait when the artist copied the head from the first study.

<sup>2</sup>The picture then passed into the collection of Mr. Henry Clay Frick, who parted with it when the Fraga Velasquez was acquired for the Frick collection. It entered the Lehman collection in 1913.

<sup>3</sup>Aureliano de Beruete, *Velasquez*, ed. V. von Loga, Berlin, 1909, pp. 68-69, 92, 94. Beruete noted that the sitter was much younger in this portrait than in the pictures at Vienna (Figs. 11 and 12) and in the La Caze collection at the Louvre (Fig. 14), and since he had already followed the mistake of Justi in believing that the model for the last three canvases was Queen Mariana, he was somewhat nettled in explaining the date of the Lehman picture.

<sup>4</sup>Maria Theresa was born September 20, 1638, at the Escorial, and Mariana was born at Wiener-Neustadt on December 22, 1634, the daughter of Ferdinand III and his wife Maria, the favorite sister of Philip IV. Mariana was first betrothed to Don Baltasar Carlos, Maria Theresa's brother and heir to the Spanish throne, the only son of Philip IV and his first wife Isabella of Bourbon. The engagement of the young prince to the Austrian princess was officially announced in June, 1646. After the loss of Philip's wife Isabella, in 1644, and the subsequent death, in 1646, of Don Baltasar Carlos, his only son and heir, the Spanish monarch was urged by the Cortes to marry again in order to perpetuate the dynasty. The aged king accordingly chose as his bride the princess who had been destined



FIG. 7—NEW YORK, COLLECTION OF MR. PHILIP LEHMAN: PORTRAIT OF MARIA THERESA BY VELASQUEZ









FIG. 9—MADRID, PRADO: PORTRAIT OF QUEEN MARIANA BY VELASQUEZ



FIG. 8—NEW YORK, COLLECTION OF MR. J. PIERPONT MORGAN: PORTRAIT OF MARIA THERESA AS A CHILD



the model for two portraits then at Vienna (Figs. 11 and 12) and one in the La Caze collection at the Louvre (Fig. 14). The matter was further confused by Beruete, who, in order to account for the youthfulness of the girl in the Lehman portrait, ingeniously assumed that the king, desiring a portrait of his wife Mariana which would show her in the full bloom of her girlhood, commissioned Mazo, the assistant and son-in-law of Velasquez, to paint her portrait soon after the marriage in 1649, and that Velasquez, who had been in Italy for two years, was commissioned to copy Mazo's portrait when he returned to Madrid in 1651. Beruete's assumption that Mazo painted a portrait of the new queen before Velasquez returned to Madrid was based on an error made by Justi,<sup>1</sup> which Mayer has corrected.<sup>2</sup> Zimmermann has shown, moreover, that the subject of the two Vienna canvases is in reality Maria Theresa,<sup>3</sup> thus confirming Justi's assertion that the portrait of a young princess in the Prado (no. 1084) represents the Infanta Margarita instead of her half sister.<sup>4</sup> The chief importance of Zimmermann's work, however, lies in the fact that we are now able to segregate other portraits, many of which were formerly classified as "Mariana," and to identify them correctly as portraits of the Infanta Maria Theresa.

The earliest extant portrait of Maria Theresa is now in the private collection of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, New York (Fig. 8).<sup>5</sup> This full-length picture represents the infanta at about six or seven years of age. She wears a black silk dress embroidered with

for his son. Six months after the death of Don Baltasar the marriage contract between Mariana and Philip was signed and in 1649 the marriage was performed at Navarcarnero. Philip was then fifty-four years of age and the young queen, Mariana, was fourteen.

Maria Theresa undoubtedly bore a clear resemblance to the new queen, with whom she lived for twelve years at the court. "At feasts and audiences they were often seen together, the Infanta eclipsing her stepmother in charm and intelligence." This resemblance between the two royal women was much closer during the first two years of Mariana's reign, before the birth of her first child, the Infanta Margarita (July 12, 1651). As the result of a long and trying confinement the queen lost much of her youthful charm. Thereafter her face appeared much older, her eyes became listless and dull. "Under the constraint of Spanish etiquette her features became impressed with that haughty and wearied expression peculiar to Spanish royalty; only in her case this was associated with a sour contraction of the mouth that betrayed her character. She was already called the 'stubborn and stiff-necked German.'" This sour contraction of the mouth, which is already apparent in the portrait executed by Velasquez about the year 1655 (Fig. 9), became more and more pronounced with advancing age. In the late portraits of the queen by Carreño, where she appears in widow's weeds, her face clearly betrays the premature senility and decay of the degenerate house of Austria.

<sup>1</sup>Carl Justi, *Diego Velazquez and His Times*, London, 1889, p. 398. Justi (III, 372) says: "Such was the king's impatience that, without awaiting the return of Velazquez from Italy, he gave the first commission to his son-in-law, Juan Bautista del Mazo. This artist, putting forth all his strength, produced such a striking likeness of the queen that it made his fortune. Palomino, who saw the picture exhibited at the Guadalajara Gate on a feast of Corpus Christi, pronounced it a marvel of the brush." Mayer has pointed out, however, that in the above statement Justi has misrepresented Palomino, since the author of the *Spanish Parnassus* was not born until 1653 and was already a young man when he came to Madrid from Cordova in order to study art. Moreover, there is no evidence, as Mayer has shown, that Palomino himself saw the portrait, since the text reads literally, "Mazo . . . made portraits of their Majesties excellently, and especially that of the Queen, our Lady Donna Maria Ana of Austria, which is such a good likeness that the good reputation he enjoys was heightened, for such a portrait by his hand was seen at the Puerta de Guadalajara on a Corpus Christi day, so like nature that it was admired by all, not only because it was one of the first portraits of her Majesty which was seen in this Court, but also because it was a marvel of the brush." In view of the above statement it is possible to sweep aside the conjectures of Justi and Beruete that the king ordered from Mazo before 1651 a portrait of the new queen, which was then copied by Velasquez after his return to Madrid in June of that year.

<sup>2</sup>August L. Mayer, *Zu den Bildnissen der Infantin Maria Theresa*, in *Kleinen Velazquezstudien*, Munich, 1913, pp. 39-50; *idem.*, *An Infanta Portrait of Velazquez*, in *Art in America*, New York, 1914, II, pp. 246-249. See also Valerian von Loga, *The Work of Velazquez*, New York, 1921, 3rd ed., p. 174.

<sup>3</sup>Heinrich Zimmermann, *Zur Ikonographie des Hauses Habsburg*, in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Vienna, XXV, heft 4, pp. 171 ff.

<sup>4</sup>Madrazo believed the canvas was begun about 1649, before Velasquez's departure, and finished later. Justi considered the entire portrait the work of the master, with the exception of the head, which may have been repainted in 1664, after the death of Velasquez. Beruete shows that the body was originally surmounted by a younger head and he believes that repainted parts of the head, hair, and hands betray the style of Mazo, and classifies the work as a portrait of the Infanta Margarita. In the latest edition of *Velazquez in Klassiker der Kunst*, VI, 1914, pls. 160, 161, this portrait is wrongly labelled "Maria Teresa."

<sup>5</sup>The canvas measures 58 x 39½ inches. Formerly in the collections of Duc de Morny (sold May 31, 1867, lot 127) and Lyne Stephens (sold May 11, 1895, lot 21). Exhibited at the Palais Bourbon in the Alsace-Lorraine Exhibition, 1874; and the Exhibition of Old Masters, London, 1896, no. 117; and at the Guildhall Exhibition, 1901, no. 131. For a large reproduction see T. Humphrey Ward and W. Roberts, *Pictures in the Collection of J. Pierpont Morgan*, London, 1907, Vol. I.



a checker pattern, a large hoop skirt, tight bodice, and white lace collar and cuffs. Round her neck and wrists are single strands of pearls, a red bow with pendant pearl is placed on her bosom, and a red net cap covers the back part of her carefully crimped hair. With her right hand she holds the ear of a King Charles spaniel, which lies on a red cushioned chair, and her left hand toys with the silken cord hanging from the dog's collar. A dark red curtain is drawn across the grey background. The child's face, somewhat serious for her age, bears the stamp of intelligence and goodness, which she inherited from her charming French mother. There is also a marked family resemblance to early portraits of her accomplished and high-spirited brother, Don Baltasar Carlos.<sup>1</sup> Judging from the age of the infanta, the Morgan canvas must have been painted about 1645.

This picture was published by Justi<sup>2</sup> as the only known portrait of Maria Theresa and attributed by him to Velasquez. Beruete y Moret,<sup>3</sup> however, corrected Justi and assigned the work to Mazo. It is indeed strange that so few portraits of this princess have survived and it is even more strange that we have none of her early childhood by the hand of Velasquez, especially in view of the frequency with which he portrayed her brother, Baltasar Carlos, and her half sister, Margarita. It is not at all improbable, however, that the Morgan picture reproduces a lost original by Velasquez. The pose of the model and the arrangement—a single figure standing in a room, with a chair on the right and a drawn curtain behind—at once suggest a composition by Velasquez. None of the execution, however, betrays Velasquez's technique. The treatment of the head and costume is relatively flat and commonplace. The face is shown in almost full light and the modelling of the flesh lacks the subtlety which is apparent in the authenticated works of the master. The high accents of light on the checkered braid of the skirt lack the unmistakable touch which always appears in Velasquez's canvases (cf. Fig. 9); the chair and curtain lack his surety and firmness of drawing. The color, the touch, and the whole technique betray the hand of Mazo. His methods are seen in the brush work, which is more loaded and heavy, and even more unmistakably in the opaque blacks of the silk dress, which are reminiscent of those in Mazo's full-length portrait of Queen Mariana in the Prado<sup>4</sup> and in his portrait of Adrian Pareja in the National Gallery. The execution of the hands, especially the right hand, is no less convincing. The shapeless dog could never have been painted by Velasquez.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>One of the proudest possessions of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts is the early Castle Howard portrait of this charming prince, painted by Velasquez a year after his return from the first Italian journey and unanimously conceded to be the finest of all the early portraits of Don Baltasar Carlos. An official document of 1634 refers to the order for such a picture.

<sup>2</sup>Justi, *Velasquez*, p. 404.

<sup>3</sup>Aureliano de Beruete y Moret, *The School of Madrid*, London, 1909, p. 92.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, pl. facing p. 94.

<sup>5</sup>It is not strange that the best work of Mazo should often have been confused with that of his teacher. As the son-in-law and assistant of Velasquez, Mazo worked by his side in the same workshop, using the same materials and copying the same models. He had every opportunity to study and assimilate the external qualities and the powerful, synthetic style of his master. At the time of his marriage to Francisca, the daughter of Velasquez, Mazo was granted the post of Usher of the Chamber, as his wife's dowry, and was later promoted to the position of Seneschal of the King's Palace. After the death of Velasquez (1660) the king confirmed Mazo in the same office of Court Painter, a post which he occupied from 1661 until his death (1667). From the year 1634 until the death of Velasquez Mazo appears to have worked in his master's studio. He not only copied the works of his teacher but also executed original portraits of the royal family and is said to have been the Court Painter to the young Don Baltasar Carlos.

Mazo was unquestionably gifted with unusual powers of imitation. He succeeded so completely in identifying his personality and style with those of his master that it was even difficult in his own age, as it is to-day, to distinguish the copy from the original. His cleverness in reproducing not only the style of Velasquez, but that of other artists as well, was acknowledged and praised by his contemporaries. "He was so skilled as a copyist," wrote Palomino, "especially with regard to the works of his master, that it is hardly possible to distinguish the copies from the originals. I have seen some copies of his after pictures by Tintoretto, Veronese and Titian, which are now in the possession of his heirs; if these copies were produced in Italy, where his talent is unknown, they would be taken, without any doubt, for originals."





FIG. 10—BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS: DETAIL OF THE PORTRAIT OF MARIA THERESA



The next preserved portrait of the infanta, in chronological sequence, is the Lehman picture (Fig. 7), where she is shown at about eleven years of age. This work, as mentioned above, is apparently the earliest extant portrait of her by Velasquez and was probably one of the last works executed by him before his departure in 1649 for his second Italian journey.

After the return of the artist from Italy other portraits of the princess were painted, some of which can be identified with existing documents. In 1652 Velasquez was commanded to paint two portraits of Maria Theresa and in the following year, a third. In a dispatch of February 22, 1653, Count Francesco Ottonelli, ambassador from Modena at the court of Madrid, wrote to his duke that Marquis Mattei was leaving the following day, taking with him for the Duke of Flanders "*il ritratto della serenissima infanta*" and that of the king and queen "in order to further the marriage of the infanta with the duke." A few months later in the same year Giacomo Querini, minister of the Venetian Republic at Madrid, informed his government that portraits of the princess had been sent to the emperor in Germany (Vienna) and to Duke Leopold Wilhelm, Governor General of the Spanish Netherlands, at Brussels.

Archduke Leopold, who had made a large collection of Italian and Flemish pictures, returned to Vienna in 1658 with his paintings, which passed at his death (1662) to Emperor Leopold. In an inventory of the archduke's gallery made in 1659 a picture (no. 390) is described as follows: "A portrait in oil on canvas of the infanta of Spain, life-size. From her waist hang two small watches and at her side is a table with a green cover. On a blind frame, 9 spans  $9\frac{1}{2}$  fingers high and 6 spans  $1\frac{1}{2}$  fingers wide. An original by the painter of His Majesty the King of Spain."<sup>1</sup>

Two portraits, both of which hung until recently in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, conform to this description. One (Fig. 11) is still at Vienna (no. 617); the other (Figs. 10 and 12), which was listed as no. 618 in the Imperial Gallery, passed in 1921 to the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston.<sup>2</sup> In both the fifteen-year-old princess wears the wide hoop skirt and enormous headdress which were fashionable at this period in the court circles of Madrid. The large wig of false hair, which surrounds her face in a semicircle, is filled with bows, jewels, and feathers. Over a tight-fitting corsage she wears a scalloped bertha, decorated with strands of pearls, and in her left hand she holds one of those large handkerchiefs which were called *lienços*. Her right hand rests on a table. Two watches, which are suspended on long chains from her waist and lie on her basque, have given the picture the *sobriquet* of "The Lady of the Watches."

The fantastic costume in which the infanta is attired has already been described by Justi. "A new feminine fashion had been introduced in the second half of the fifth decade. . . . The lofty top-knot and the bunched arrangement of the side locks went by the board, and the wig, hitherto an occasional device, now became indispensable, for to build up the structure with the natural hair alone was of course no longer possible. The false hair of silk or wool (*cabellos postizos, monos*) was brushed smooth down, and then on both sides tressed with horrid regularity in five or six vertical ringlets disposed with perfect symmetry, decked with ribbons, rosettes and jewels, and cut horizontally even with the chin. A row of six glittering pendants thus came to look like so many earrings, while the fabric finished off behind with large ostrich feathers above this head-dress, the whole

<sup>1</sup>"Ein Contrafait von Öhlfarb auf Leinwath der Infantin von Spanien, lebensgross, an ihre Seithen hangen zwey kleine Vhrl unndt auff einer Seithen ein Taffel mit einem grünen Töpich. Vff einer blinden Rahmen, hoch 9 Spann  $9\frac{1}{2}$  Finger unndt 6 Spann  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Finger braidt. Original von Ihr Majestät des Königs in Hispania Mahler."

<sup>2</sup>The picture measures 1.28 x 1 m. Charles H. Hawes, *Portrait of the Infanta Maria Theresa by Velasquez*, in *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, 1922, XX, no. 117, pp. 2-3.



producing the general effect of an open shrine. From under the light-colored wig the natural hair peeps out.

"The narrow, straight bodice with its wedge-shaped peak fits into the enormous hooped gown, which, formerly of conical shape, now assumed more and more the cylindrical form. The total suppression of the natural outline was now followed by an amazing inflation, the single hoop which sufficed in the first half of the century being now supplemented by two or three more, at first of esparto grass, later of brass wire covered with linen. Thus the skirt passed gradually from the shape of a bell to that of clothes-horse. In these skirts, which were called *guarda infantas*, the ladies flattered themselves they looked more interesting and coquettish; they also pretended that these gowns were more comfortable, allowing plenty of room for wide flowing underclothing.

"The hands in walking rested on them as on the front of balcony seats, and the play-bill and gloves are placed on these; in the same way those 'crinolines' were made receptacles for watches, little mirrors and portraits. Such a dame appropriated her side of the coach all to herself; she had to squeeze through the doorways, and was charged double price by the managers of theatres. The other articles of the costume also acquired proportionately imposing dimensions; the pocket handkerchief looked like a table-cloth; the tulle collar covered nearly half the bosom; the necklaces, and even the gold setting of the jewels became thick and heavy. The feet of course disappeared altogether.

"All that remained of the natural Eve was then coated with loud colors, not only face, eye-lids and earlobes, but shoulders and hands; this rouge, however, was more of a mask than an adornment."

Both the Vienna picture and the Boston picture have been cut down to fit smaller frames, so that neither is now quite a full-length portrait. Otherwise the Boston example is in a good state of preservation. An unskilful restorer has almost ruined the canvas which still hangs in Vienna: the nose and mouth have been retouched, and the eyes, originally blue, have been repainted brown. There are also other differences between the pictures which are apparently not due to restoration. In the Vienna picture a bow is placed on the left shoulder and the curtain of the background is blue-green; in the Boston picture the hanging is yellow-green and the bow is missing.

The absence of the bow on the left shoulder in the Boston picture is used by Zimmermann as a clue in determining which portrait was sent to the archduke at Brussels. An engraving (Fig. 13), which he attributes to Johann Meyssens or Theodor van Merlen, of the school of Antwerp, and which he considers an obvious copy of one of the pictures, likewise omits the bow on the shoulder. It is reasonable to suppose that a Flemish engraver would have taken for his model the canvas at Brussels rather than that at Vienna; and since the Boston painting has no bow on the shoulder Zimmermann concludes that this may have been the picture sent to Brussels. But there are weaknesses in this argument. As to the bow on the shoulder, the engraver has omitted the bows at the wrists, as well, and these are sufficiently evident in the Boston picture. Moreover, it is not at all certain that the bow did not originally exist in the Boston picture. It is common to other portraits of this period, which we shall consider later, even occurring where the costume is in other respects considerably different (Fig. 16), so that it must have been considered an essential feature. This ornament may have been painted out later, which would account for the difference in the treatment of the bertha, with its pearls, on the left shoulder in the Boston picture (cf. Fig. 12). Granting that the engraving was copied from one of the two paintings, the architectural background shows that the engraver did not hesitate to make arbitrary changes. The reversal of the figure is a common practice in engraving,





FIG. 12—BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS: PORTRAIT OF MARIA THERESA



FIG. 11—VIENNA, FEDERAL ART GALLERY: PORTRAIT OF MARIA THERESA



and the rearrangement of the hands is due to the shortening and narrowing of the composition.<sup>1</sup> Incidentally, we may note that there was no doubt in the seventeenth century as to the identity of the princess, since the engraving is inscribed at the bottom: MARIA TERESA PHILIPPI IV HISPANIARVM REGIS FILIA.

In any event, it seems highly probable that the Vienna and Boston pictures are those mentioned in the dispatches of 1653. The inconclusive evidence would indicate that it was likely the Boston canvas which was sent to Archduke Leopold, and the Vienna picture which was sent to the Emperor of Germany.

The authenticity of the two pictures has already occasioned much discussion among critics. In the first edition of his book on Velasquez Justi attributed both paintings to the master and considered the Boston example the better of the two;<sup>2</sup> in the latest edition he thought neither an original and regarded the Boston canvas as a weak copy. Beruete considered the Vienna picture a genuine work by Velasquez and described the Boston example as "an almost identical copy, though cold and weak in tone."<sup>3</sup>

The present state of the Vienna portrait is so unsatisfactory and the picture has deteriorated to such an extent (Fig. 11) that it is difficult to use this as a sound criterion for style. As far as preservation is concerned, the Boston portrait (Fig. 12) is in much better condition, but the surety and strength of treatment usually associated with Velasquez's brush do not appear in this canvas. Let us compare the latter picture with an undoubted original by the master, the portrait of Queen Mariana now in the Prado, executed about the year 1655 (Fig. 9). In the Madrid picture the character of the model, as shown by the head, is expressed with extraordinary power and skill. But in the Boston picture the full face (Fig. 10), although agreeable in expression, is soft and weak. There is practically no modelling of the forehead, temples, and cheeks. The nostrils and lips are indeterminate; the outlines of the face, chin, and neck are hesitating and uncertain. The eyes are poorly rendered and do not sink back properly beneath the eyebrows. The hair lacks the infinite variety of values found in the canvases by Velasquez, and the brush work is heavy and clumsy. In the Madrid picture the bony structure of the slender fingers is admirably expressed, but in the Boston example the round and puffy hands are inarticulate and lifeless; they might as well be those of an inflated rubber doll.

The execution of the costume in the Boston canvas is no less hesitating and irresolute. The bertha, corsage, and basque lack the surety of drawing and the high accents of light and color which we find in the Madrid portrait, where the artist, in his usual swift manner, has rendered, with a few vigorous brush strokes, the play of light on wrinkled sleeve and embroidered skirt. The folds of the right sleeve in the Boston picture could never have

<sup>1</sup>Other features, on the other hand, show the dependence of the engraver on the Boston picture; the hair, with a single large bow and ostrich plume, the tulle collar, the strands of embroidered pearls, the bow on the bosom, and the corsage with a single row of buttons down the front are practically identical. The face is a fairly good likeness, although the cheeks are fuller and the princess looks older.

<sup>2</sup>Justi describes the Boston picture as follows: "Her finest and most interesting portrait, which has recently come to light at Vienna, agrees in almost every particular with the picture preserved in the Belvedere (no. 617) since 1824. The sparkle of the blue eyes is charming; but in the latter the eyes are duller, the modelling in very clear flesh tints less pure and firm." Justi also wrongly calls both pictures "Queen Mariana," although they had been properly catalogued in the museum as "Maria Theresa." E. g., Érasme Engert, *Catalogue de la Galerie de Tableaux Impériale-Royale au Belvédère à Vienne*, Vienna, 1859, p. 47, no. 47, where it is catalogued as "Marie Thérèse;" Eduard R. v. Engerth, *Kunsthistorische Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses-Gemälde*, I, Vienna, 1882, p. 440, no. 617, where it is described as "*Bildniss der Infantin Maria Theresia*."

<sup>3</sup>Beruete, *Velasquez*, ed. von Loga, 1909, p. 69, pl. 49. "The greyish white of the dress recalls certain of Titian's tones. This refined white and the delicate tone of the flesh which stands out from the greenish blue of the table and the curtain in the background form one of those harmonies of gradually diminished lights and shades so dear to Velasquez. It should be added also that an unskilled restorer, doubtless finding that the features were weakly marked, retouched the eyes, nose, and mouth, and this contributed not a little to spoil the picture." The Boston canvas (no. 618) he described as "an almost identical copy, though cold and weak in tone, of the portrait just described. It cannot be included among his genuine works."



been painted by Velasquez; they are almost identical in treatment with those found on the right sleeve of the portrait of Philip IV in the Dulwich Gallery, which was executed by Mazo. In the Prado picture the tulle collar and handkerchief, painted with the silvery grey and white harmonies, for which Velasquez was so famous, convey an immediate expression of the texture of the material, whereas in the Boston picture the collar and handkerchief are flat and without relief. It is also easy to see a weakness of execution in the treatment of the accessories and minor details of the costume, such as the ribbon rosettes, the strands of pearls, the watches, and the table. How differently painted are the rosettes, chair, jewels, and clock in the Madrid picture, where they are rendered with the sharp, crisp definition of the master's mature style!

Even more unconvincing is the relationship between figure and background. In the Madrid portrait the queen stands firmly on her feet and we feel the weight of the body, which is placed in a background full of depth and space. The chief interest of Velasquez, at this stage of his career, when he had adopted a broader method of painting, lay in the study of light and the rendering of aerial perspective. But in the Boston picture the depth and space, the light and atmosphere are wanting. The relationships between figure, table, and background are such that the buoyant skirt appears ready at any moment to float upward like a balloon. From the waist up the figure is placed against the curtained background like a paper silhouette and the entire figure lacks the perfect, sure relief and, above all, the "brio," which unmistakably distinguishes the works of the master. The least objectionable feature of the Boston canvas is the color. This can be explained by the fact that the picture may have been painted in the master's studio, with such materials as were used by Velasquez himself. Not infrequently Velasquez appears to have painted a single original portrait which was then copied by Mazo and other studio assistants before the original left the workshop. From the foreign ambassadors, courts, and palaces there was a constant demand for portraits of the members of the reigning family of Spain. We have already noted that in one year (1653) two portraits of the Infanta Maria Theresa, who had then reached a marriageable age, were ordered for foreign nobility; and in 1654 the court of France sent an order to Madrid for more than fifteen portraits of the Hapsburg family. The commissions for these portraits were undoubtedly given to Velasquez, the king's official painter, who, for lack of time to execute so many orders, charged Mazo and other assistants with the task of making copies. Many of the portraits executed at this period, which have been attributed as originals to Velasquez, must be ascribed to the brush of Mazo.

The canvas now in the museum at Boston may well have been the portrait mentioned by Ottonelli in 1653, which was sent to Archduke Leopold Wilhelm at Brussels. It may also be regarded as the picture described in the inventory of the archduke's gallery in 1659. However, the argument that the inventory mentions the work as "an original by the painter of His Majesty, the King of Spain," carries no weight whatsoever. Velasquez's name was frequently inscribed on canvases painted by assistants, such as the portrait of Adrian Pulido Pareja, now in the National Gallery, which, in spite of its *Velasquez fecit*, was entirely executed by Mazo. The Boston picture bears about the same relationship to an authentic work by Velasquez as does Mazo's portrait of Philip IV in the Dulwich Gallery to the original portrait from which it was copied, the Fraga portrait, now in the Frick collection at New York. The mere existence to-day, at Vienna and Boston, of two canvases which are so nearly identical in color, composition, and technique shows how common in the seventeenth century was the practice of copying the portraits of the reigning house of Spain. The Boston picture is, in fact, one more canvas which must be added to





FIG. 13—VIENNA, KUPPENSTICHKABINETT: ENGRAVING OF MARIA THERESA.  
SCHOOL OF ANTWERP



FIG. 14—PARIS, LOUVRE (LA CAZE COLLECTION): PORTRAIT OF MARIA  
THERESA

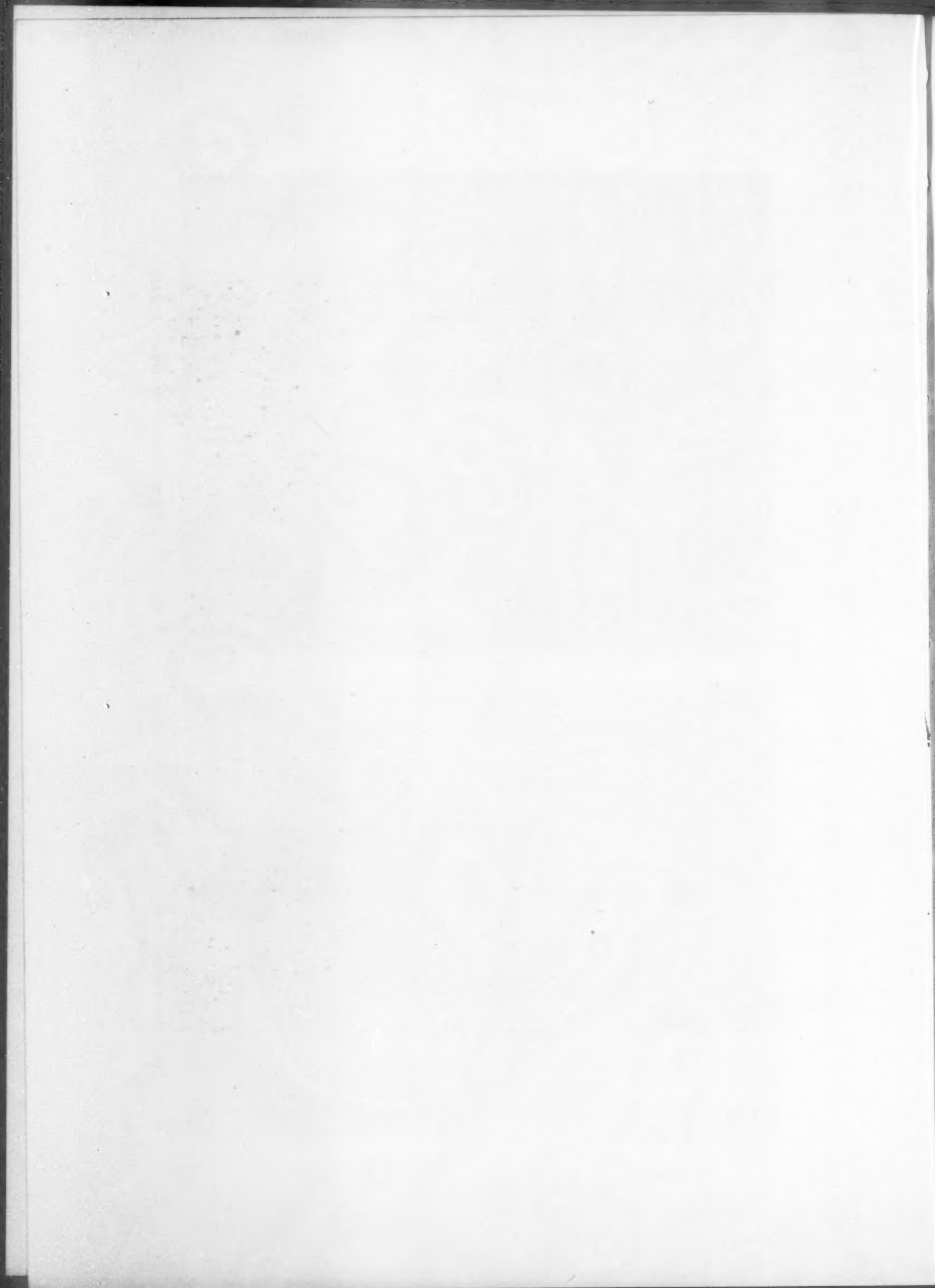
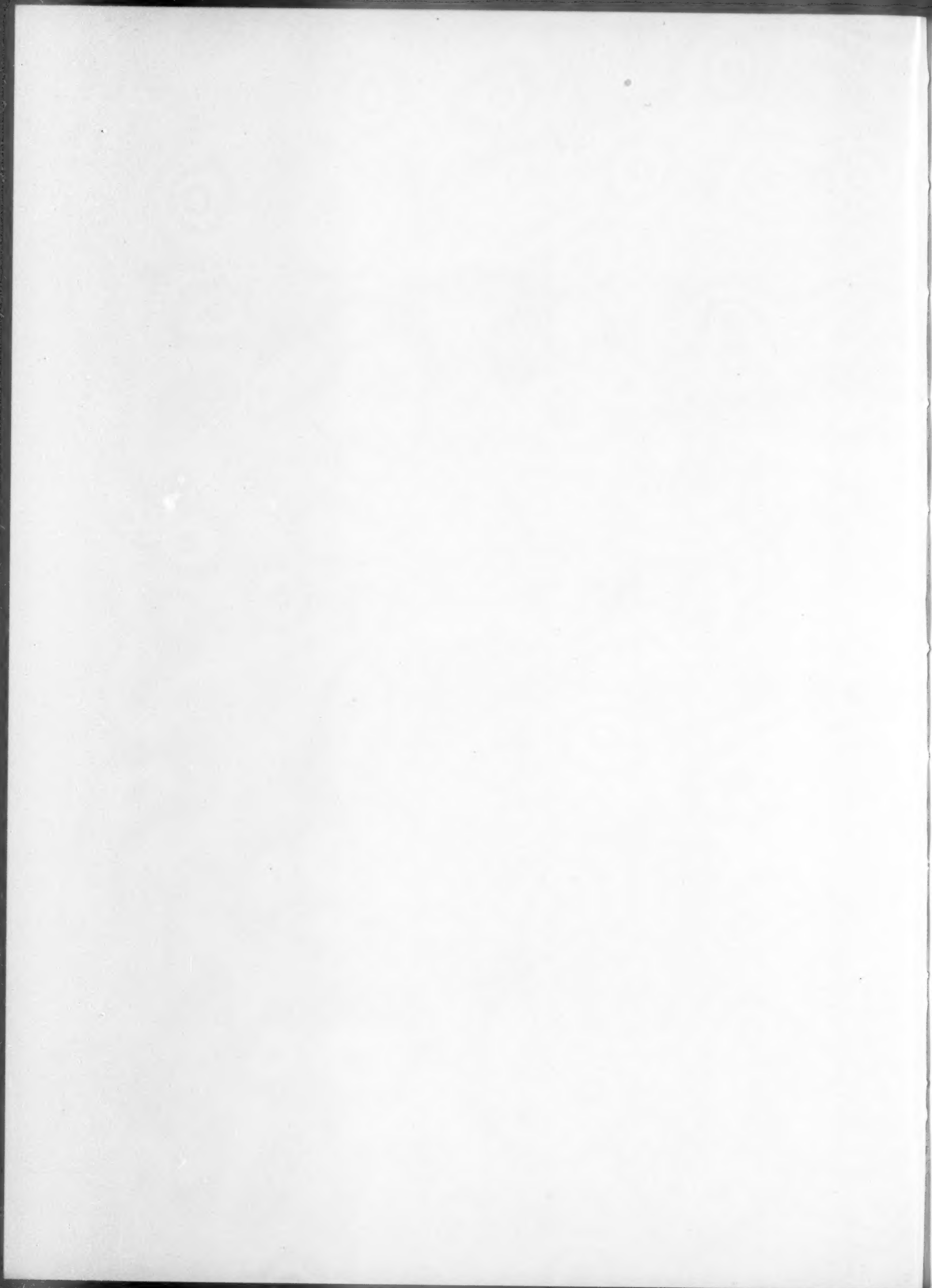




FIG. 15—NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM: PORTRAIT OF MARIA THERESA OWNED BY MR. HARRY PAYNE BINGHAM





the constantly increasing list of copies by Juan Bautista Martinez del Mazo and his assistants.

In the communication from Giacomo Querini, to which we have referred above, the ambassador mentions a third portrait of the infanta which would be sent to France "as soon as his violent gout would permit." There is more convincing evidence that this work was executed by Velasquez himself. Brienne wished a portrait of the princess for her aunt, Queen Regent Anne of France, the eldest sister of Philip IV. "I have persuaded Don Luis (Haro)," wrote Querini, "to let me have one. . . . The painting will be prepared by Velasco, the king's painter, and sent to Paris on the customary payment of fifty reals." Four months later Querini had already attended to the matter for he wrote on January 21 that he had given the picture of the princess which was destined for France to the courier to Flanders. On March 25, 1654, the Venetian envoy received another commission from Sagredo to procure from the king portraits of fifteen members of the Hapsburg family. On October of the same year there was an additional request for four more. "I am greatly pleased," King Philip said, "with what you tell me of my sister (Anne); I am glad she still takes interest in our concerns; so you may write to France that I have given orders to have the portraits taken in hand at once." Portraits of the princess were unquestionably sent, as Don Juan of Austria, the natural son of Philip IV, on his return from the Netherlands in 1659, visited Queen Anne in Paris, where he saw the portraits of the house of Austria and among them "that of the Infanta Maria Theresa." There were, however, more than one, since in the same year Madame de Motteville mentioned several pictures of the infanta at Paris.

The bust portrait (Fig. 14) in the La Caze collection at the Louvre (no. 1735)<sup>1</sup> may have been one of the pictures sent from Madrid in 1653 or the year following. Its similarity to the Vienna and Boston pictures is obvious, and so close that Beruete thought it a preliminary study for the Vienna picture, painted from the original model. He believed, moreover, that there was not the slightest doubt as to its authenticity. The picture is undoubtedly closely related to the portrait now in Vienna, but it is impossible to agree with the Spanish critic's conclusions as to its genuineness. The painting of the wig, ribbons, and ostrich plume is dull and flat; the face is lifeless and empty; the neck is wooden and stiff. Details of the costume, such as the tulle collar, pearls, and sleeves are too summarily treated. This canvas may well have been one of the portraits of the princess seen at the French court, but it has not the slightest claim to be regarded as an authentic work by Velasquez.

A much finer head of the princess, now in the collection of Mr. Harry Payne Bingham of New York City (Fig. 15), has greater reason to be considered the painting mentioned by Querini which "will be prepared by Velasco, the king's painter." The picture has been loaned since 1920 to the Metropolitan Museum of Art (no. V 54-51), where it is wrongly catalogued as "Queen Mariana of Austria."<sup>2</sup> The pose of the head, the shape of the face, and the delicate modelling about the mouth recall the Lehman portrait. In the Bingham picture the enormous wig of false hair is adorned with ribbon or paper butterflies. The eyes are blue and the cheeks and lips, as in the Lehman head, are highly rouged. The picture is cut just below the neck and is a fragment of a larger canvas. There are slight retouches on the right side of the cheek, under the nose, and around the outer edges of the

<sup>1</sup>The picture measures .75 x .61 m.

<sup>2</sup>Bryson Burroughs, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Catalogue of Paintings*, 6th ed., New York, 1922, p. 178. The present size of the picture is .55 x .645 m. Formerly in the Leduc collection; exhibited at the Exposition des Alsaciens Lorrains after the war of 1870, and at the Exposition des Portraits des Femmes in 1897. It was sold in 1899.

background.<sup>1</sup> With these exceptions the picture is well preserved, and it may be regarded as an original by Velasquez.<sup>2</sup> Judging from the age of the sitter this portrait must have been painted about the year 1652 or 1653.

An inferior copy, now in the John G. Johnson collection at Philadelphia (Fig. 16),<sup>3</sup> appears to have been made after the Bingham portrait. The wig is dressed in the same fashion and is embellished with the same type of paper butterflies. The similarity between the two heads is so close that the Johnson picture must have been copied direct from the canvas now in the Metropolitan Museum. In the former the figure is seen to the waist, which enables us to restore the original appearance of the infanta's costume in the Bingham picture, before the latter was cut down to its present size. An inscription written at the top of the Johnson canvas reads: LINFANTE . MARIE TEREZE. The fact that the name is written in French, and the similarity of the shape of the letters to that in an inscription on a portrait of the Infanta Margarita, now in the Louvre, would indicate that the Johnson portrait was for some time in France. Like the La Caze and Bingham pictures, it may have been one of the several pictures of Maria Theresa at the French court. The present interest of this weak replica, however, is purely archæological; the wig, face, and costume are so completely devoid of modelling that as a work of art its value is practically nil.

With this our discussion of the early portraits of the Spanish princess comes to a close. The resemblance in these works to the later portraits by Mignard can be clearly seen. It is also possible to compare the portraits which we have discussed above with descriptions of the infanta written at the time of her marriage. The union of the thrones of France and Spain by the marriage of the young Louis XIV with Maria Theresa was suggested by Mazarin as early as 1646. In 1659 the Treaty of the Pyrenees stipulated for the marriage of the infanta to the French king, the princess renouncing any claim to the Spanish succession. On October 21 of this year the brother of Madame de Motteville, later Abbé du Mont, who accompanied the French embassy which went to Madrid to arrange for the betrothal, wrote to his sister: "All I can say of our Infanta is that she is much more beautiful than all the portraits of her which we have seen in France." "The queen is only twenty-four years old and the Infanta about twenty. Her hair is dressed as shown on her portrait; and the *guard-infanta* is even taller than shown . . . she has blue eyes, not too large, but very bright and pleasant, and they seem full of happiness. She has a high forehead; and since her manner of wearing the hair leaves it uncovered, her face appears a little longer than it would if her hair were let down on the forehead. Her nose is rather fine and not too thick and large. She has a fine mouth and very red lips; she has a very beautiful complexion and a fair skin. The lower part of her cheeks is heavy and she uses rouge, but not so much as the other ladies. Her hair is a beautiful blond but the hair she wore that day was a wig, tied with numerous ribbons. She is not tall but she appears to have a fairly well built figure."

The marriage of Maria Theresa took place in the following year, June 9, 1660, when Philip IV and his entire court accompanied the bride to the Isle of Pheasants in the

<sup>1</sup>I am indebted to Mr. Harry B. Wehle, Assistant Curator of the Department of Painting in the Metropolitan Museum, for his courtesy in allowing me to make a careful examination of the canvas. Mr. Wehle agrees that the work, now relined, has been cut down from a larger portrait. An examination under a strong glass reveals that the edges of the canvas were formerly folded under the frame.

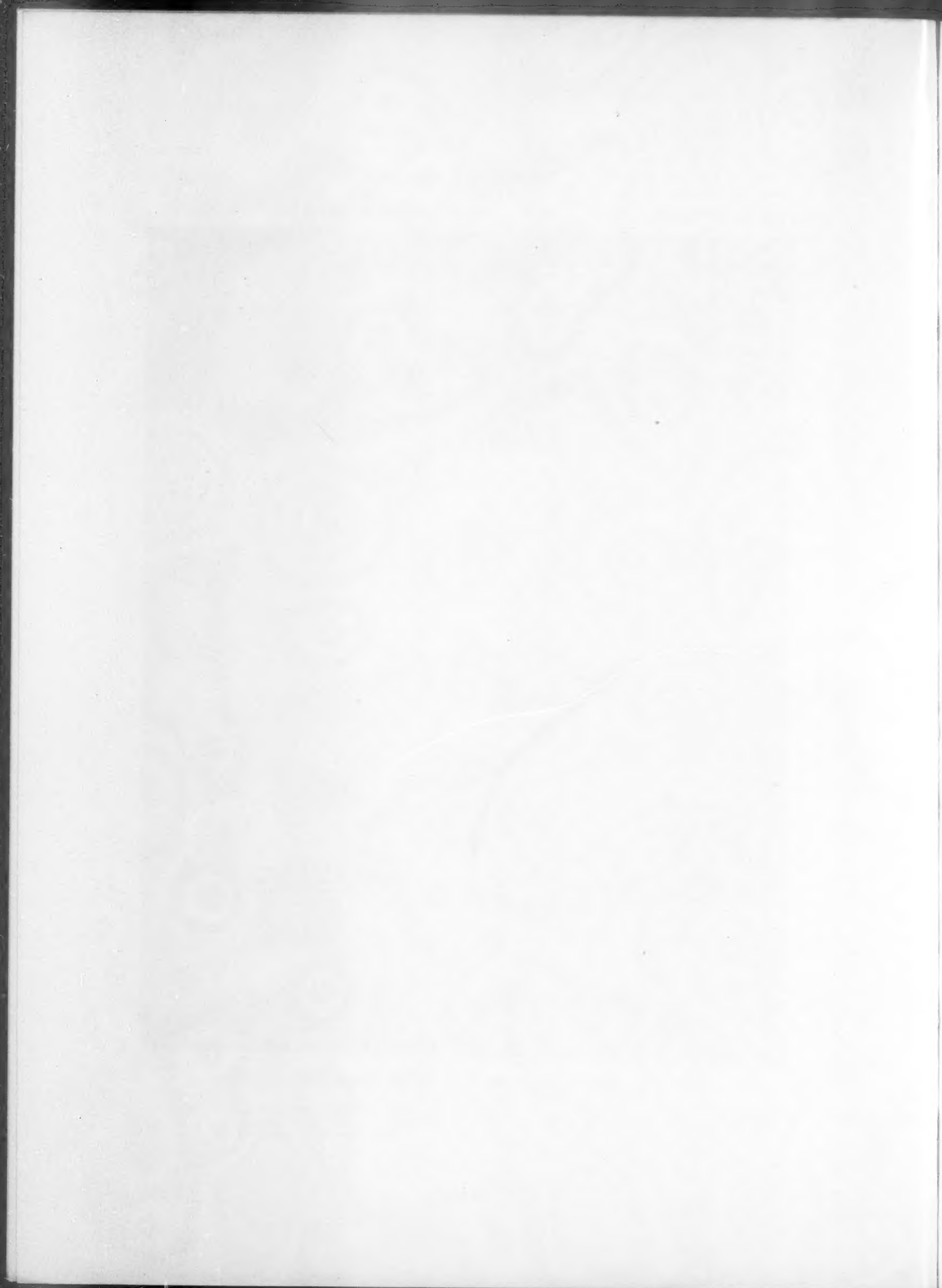
<sup>2</sup>Dr. Frank J. Mather, Jr., believes, however, that this is the work of Mazo, basing his opinion on the treatment of the wig.

<sup>3</sup>W. R. Valentiner, *Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings, John G. Johnson, Philadelphia, 1914*, III, no. 812, p. 47. The picture measures 21 x 24 inches and was formerly in the collections of the Marquis of Dover and Viscount Clifden. Sold at Christie's, May 6, 1893.



FIG. 16—PHILADELPHIA, JOHN G. JOHNSON COLLECTION: PORTRAIT OF MARIA THERESA







Bidassoa. The youthful Louis was "appalled at her costume" but thought "that she nevertheless possessed much beauty, and that he would find it easy to love her." Madame de Motteville, who saw the princess on the occasion of the marriage festivities at Fontarabie, wrote as follows (June 3, 1660):

"The Infanta Queen was small but well built; the dazzling whiteness of her skin, which is the whitest imaginable, and her whole being aroused our admiration. Her blue eyes seemed beautiful; we were charmed by their softness and brilliancy. We praised the beauty of her mouth and lips, which are somewhat thick and red. The shape of her face was long, but as the lower part was round it pleased us. Her cheeks were a little fat, but as they pleased us, they received their share of our praise. Her hair was a silvery blond, which harmonized perfectly with the beautiful color of her face. Indeed, if she were a little taller and if her teeth were more beautiful she would rank among the most beautiful women of Europe. I found that she closely resembled the description which had already been drawn of her by my brother. Her bosom appeared to be well shaped and rather fat. But her costume was terrible. On the day of the marriage the Infanta Queen wore a large headdress. Her dress was white, and was made of a somewhat ugly material, embroidered with isinglass-stone, for silver was prohibited in Spain. She wore jewels mounted in heavy settings. Her beautiful hair was concealed beneath a kind of white hat, which folded around her head, which disfigured rather than added beauty. But, in spite of her dress we noted her beauty. . . . Her own hair could not be seen at all. She wore hair which is called *monos*, which means 'false hair.' I asked her to show me her real hair, which she did, and I was quite satisfied with the beauty of her appearance."

If we compare these contemporary descriptions with the preserved pictures of the infanta, we note that in each she has been portrayed with a high forehead, gentle blue eyes, well shaped nose, full red lips, a rouged complexion, rounded chin, cheeks somewhat heavy below, a well formed neck, and a small figure. The favorable impression, however, produced by the princess upon such discriminating critics as Madame de Motteville and her brother was due not only to her natural beauty but also to the charm of her personality. Her lovable character and the fresh spontaneity of her youth are nowhere more clearly revealed than in the sympathetic study of her head now in the Lehman collection.

The subsequent story of her life at the court, as queen of France, is too well known to be repeated at length. The entrance of the bridal couple at Paris was celebrated by sumptuous feasts, and Maria Theresa was well received by her mother-in-law and aunt, Queen Anne. She was simple and devout by nature, a character ill favored to hold the changing affections of the young and restless Louis. In wit and resourcefulness she was no match for the captivating ladies of the court, and she soon saw herself neglected for others. She was frequently mortified, and the story is told that on one occasion she was forced to ride in the same coach in public with the king's mistresses. Her husband was the father of numerous illegitimate offspring, and on the triumphant trip to Flanders Louis was accompanied not only by the queen but also by Louise de la Vallière and Madame de Montespan, where the people saw "three queens." She finally resigned herself to her position as official queen and for the most part lived confined to her apartments when she was not forced to take part in the ceremonies of the court. Of her six children only one survived her, the Dauphin Louis, who died in 1711. It was in the name of her rights that war was declared against Spain in 1668 and that her grandson Philip V was called to the Spanish throne in 1701. During the campaigns of Louis XIV in Holland (1672) she acted as regent. She died July 30, 1683, at Versailles, and her end is said to have been hastened by the court

physicians. Bossuet pronounced the funeral oration, and Louis is said to have remarked at her death: "*Voilà le premier chagrin qu' elle m' ait donné.*"

### (3) A Portrait of the Countess of Altamira by Goya

An unusually well preserved example of Goya's middle period is to be seen in the full-length, life-size portrait of Maria Ignacia, Countess of Altamira, and her daughter, Maria Augustina (Fig. 17). The charming countess, shown nearly full-face, is seated on a light blue upholstered sofa with carved gilt frame. Her large dark eyes look past us toward the left, and her brown hair, dressed high, falls in heavy curls on her shoulders. She wears a pink satin dress, with full skirt embroidered at the side and bottom with a floral pattern, a slender bodice draped with a white scarf, and elbow sleeves edged with lace ruffles. With her left hand she holds her small daughter, who is seated on her lap. The blond-haired child, clothed in white satin slippers and white dress of transparent material, clasps a flower held by the mother. A light grey background is appropriately chosen for this composition of delicate colors. At the bottom of the large canvas (2.115 x 1.15 m.) is an inscription with the names in full: LA EX. ma Sa. Da. MARIA YGNACIA ALVAREZ DE TOLEDO MARQVESA DE ASTORGA CONDESA DE ALTAMIRA Y. LA S. D. MARIA AGVSTINA OSORIO ALVAREZ DE TOLEDO SV HIJA . NACIO EN 21 DE FEBRERO DE 1787.<sup>1</sup> Judging from the age of the daughter, born February 21, 1787, who is shown here as a child of about eighteen months, Goya must have painted the portrait in 1788.

Nothing is known of the subsequent history of the canvas until it was brought to public notice at the Madrid exhibition of Goya's portraits in 1900,<sup>2</sup> where it was exhibited by the Marquis of Cervera. Later it passed into the collections of M. Leopold Goldschmidt and Count Pastré at Paris. It was included in the Munich exhibition of Spanish paintings in 1911<sup>3</sup> and in Knoedler's exhibition of paintings by El Greco and Goya in 1915.<sup>4</sup> Prior to its exhibition at Munich the true beauty of the work could not be appreciated. The canvas had apparently never been cleaned, and the accumulation of soot and dirt had effectually obscured all traces of modelling. Details of the costume, such as the lace ruffles at the elbow and the white dress and slippers of the child, had completely dis-

<sup>1</sup>The house of Altamira is one of the most important in the Spanish nobility. It took its name Osorio de Moscoso in the middle of the fifteenth century from the marriage of Doña Urraca de Moscoso, second Condesa de Altamira, with D. Pedro Alvarer Osorio, son of the second Count of Villalobos, Duke of Aguiar, Count of Trastamara, Alferer Mayor of King D. Juan II of Castile.

The first Count of Altamira was D. Lope Sanchez de Moscoso, a title created by King Henry IV March 13, 1455. This count died without an heir, and the title passed to his cousin, Doña Urraca, daughter of D. Rodrigo etc., etc.

A royal decree of July 6, 1465 created the title Marquesado of Astorga, Grandee of Spain, and bestowed it upon D. Alvaro Rerer Osorio, Count of Trastamara, Duke of Aguiar, Count and Señor de Villalobos, who was the elder brother of D. Pedro Alvarer Osorio, second Count of Altamira, already cited. Doña Ana Nicolara de Gurman, thirteenth Marquesa de Astorga, Duchess of Atriaco, Marquesa de Velada, of Ayamonte, San Roman and Villamanrique, Countess of Trastamara, Villalobos, Nieva, Saltes, Chantada, and Santa Marta, brought all these titles to the house of Altamira when she married (February 13, 1707) the tenth count, D. Antonio Gaspar de Moscoso.

The dukedom of Sesa was added when, in 1731, Doña Ventura Fernandez de Córdoba, eleventh Duchess of Sesa, married D. Ventura Osorio de Moscoso, eleventh Count of Altamira, etc. The dukedom of Maqueda, created by Emperor Charles V in 1530, also passed to the house of Altamira.

All these titles were united in the head of the house of Altamira until the death (February 22, 1864) of D. Pio Osorio Moscoso y Ponce de Leon, fifteenth Count of Altamira.

I am indebted for the above information to Sr. D. Vicente Castañeda y Alcover, of the R. Academia de la Historia, Abogado, Madrid.

<sup>2</sup>*Catálogo de las Obras de Goya expuestas en el Ministerio de Instrucción pública y Bellas Artes*, Madrid, May, 1900, no. 115, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup>*Catalogue: Altspanische Ausstellung, Galerie Heinemann*, Munich, January, 1911, no. 14, p. 29, reproduction.

<sup>4</sup>*Loan Exhibition of Paintings by El Greco and Goya*, M. Knoedler & Co., New York, 1915, *Catalogue*, no. 38. For a discussion of some of the Goyas in this exhibition see Christian Brinton, *Goya and Certain Goyas in America*, in *Art in America*, III, 1915, p. 93 ff.



FIG. 17—NEW YORK, COLLECTION OF MR. PHILIP LEHMAN: PORTRAIT OF THE COUNTESS OF ALTAMIRA BY GOYA





appeared from view. The inscription could not be seen, the background was much darker, and the heads of the figures were barely visible. This was the condition of the work when it was first reproduced,<sup>1</sup> but a thorough cleaning restored it to its original state. To-day it is as fresh and fine as when it left the artist's studio, and it can be studied as one of Goya's finest female portraits.

Goya's first portrait of any importance was painted in 1783. The successful execution at this time of a portrait of the Count of Floridablanca, the Prime Minister of Charles III, was followed by an introduction to the Infante Don Luis, brother of the king.<sup>2</sup> In 1785 Goya entered the competition for religious pictures for the church of San Francisco el Grande, and his San Bernardino of Siena Preaching to King Alfonso of Aragon was a public triumph, which brought recognition from King Charles III. In 1786 he was appointed King's Painter, at a salary of 15,000 reales, and in 1789 he was promoted to the post of Court Painter. From the year 1786, which marks the public approbation of the court, his success was assured. With the accession of Charles IV in 1788, the presumable date of the Lehman picture, Goya became the most fashionable painter in the capital and was overwhelmed with commissions from the nobility and leaders of society. "I had established an enviable scheme of life," he wrote to Zapater, "I refused to dance attendance in the antechambers of the great. If anyone wanted something from me he had to ask. I was much run after, but if the person was not of rank, or a friend, I worked for nobody."

It was in these successful years that Goya painted the portrait of the Countess of Altamira, and the circumstances which brought him the commission are well known. The portrait of Floridablanca, of 1783, and another showing him holding a document relating to the foundation of the Bank of San Carlos at Madrid led to orders from several of the directors of this bank,<sup>3</sup> among them the Count of Altamira, husband of the countess represented in the Lehman picture. The full-length portrait of the count (Fig. 18),

<sup>1</sup>The picture was reproduced in its uncleaned state by Albert F. Calvert, *Goya*, London, 1908, pl. 29; *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana*, Barcelona, 1908, IV, reproduction on p. 952; Lothar Brieger-Wasservogel, *Francisco de Goya*, Berlin, reproduction facing p. 15. After it had been cleaned the canvas was reproduced by the following: *The Connoisseur*, October, 1909, XXV, illustration facing p. 125; Guy Pène du Bois, *Francisco Goya in America*, in *Arts and Decoration*, May, 1916, VI, reproduction on p. 326; Helen Churchill Candée, *Certain Goyas in America*, in *Scribner's Magazine*, October, 1917, LXII, p. 428 ff. The work has also been catalogued in the following books: Paul Lafond, *Goya*, Paris, 1902, p. 125, no. 70; Valerian von Loga, *Francisco de Goya*, Berlin, 1903, p. 192, no. 171; Hugh Stokes, *Francisco Goya*, London, 1914, p. 337, no. 221; August L. Mayer, *Francisco de Goya*, Munich, 1923, p. 187, no. 201; A. de Beruete y Moret, in *Goya as Portrait Painter*, London, 1922, p. 63, mentions the canvas as "a beautiful portrait but in a dirty condition."

<sup>2</sup>The artist visited his future friend and patron at his country palace at Arenas de San Pedro and after his return to Madrid he wrote to Zapater: "I have just returned from Arenas and feel very tired. His Excellency loaded me with a thousand honors, I have painted his portrait and that of his wife and boy and girl with unexpected success for other artists had been there previously and had not been successful. I have been out twice shooting with His Highness; he shoots very well and last afternoon he said to me when shooting at a rabbit, why this sketching fellow is better at it than I am myself. I have been a month on end with these gentry and they are most angelic in their kindness. They have made me a present of a thousand dollars and a gown for my wife all covered with silver and gold worth thirty thousand reales, as the keeper of the robes told me."

<sup>3</sup>The National Bank of San Carlos had been founded in 1782 by Floridablanca, and either through the influence of the founder or through Cean Bermudez, the well-known writer on Spanish art, who held the post of chief clerk in the secretary's office, Goya received commissions for six portraits which were begun in 1785. Not only the date but the price paid for each picture is known. The first work, which represents Don José de Toro y Zambrano, was painted in 1785 and cost 2,328 reales including the frame and gilding. Two years later other portraits were added to the series, those of the Marquis de Tolosa, the Count of Altamira, and King Charles III, for which the bank paid 10,000 reales. In the same year he also painted the full-length portrait of Don Francisco Larrumbe, which cost 2,200 reales, and in the year following, the last of the series, the full-length portrait of the Count of Cabarrús, for which 4,500 reales was paid.

Goya was induced by his friend, Cean Bermudez, to place his modest savings in the Bank of San Carlos. The Bank of Spain, where all these portraits now hang, still holds fifteen shares of bank stock to which the artist subscribed. Two of these shares were endorsed by Goya in favor of Doña Maria Olarte, six to D. José de Onís, and the other seven to D. Fernán de Almarza. The endorsements bear the date of November 20 and December 22, 1788 (Beruete y Moret, *Goya as Portrait Painter*, pp. 24-25).

which now hangs in the director's room of the Bank of Spain,<sup>1</sup> is much smaller (1.77 x 1.08 m.) than the portrait of the countess and is far inferior in beauty of execution.

The composition of the Lehman portrait recalls that of two other female portraits by Goya, one of Doña Maria Theresa Apodeca de Sesma, formerly in the State Gallery at Vienna, and one of the Marquesa de Casa Flores. The Marie Antoinette costume worn by the countess was fashionable at this period among the wealthier classes of Madrid society, and the slender bodice with white transparent scarf, the full skirt, and the short sleeves trimmed with lace ruffles are found in Goya's portraits of Queen Maria Louisa in the Prado and an Unknown Lady in the Garcia collection at Madrid. The costume is also closely analogous to that worn by the duchess in his *Osuña Family Portrait*. The coiffure of the countess in the Lehman picture was the prevailing fashion and is identical to that seen in other portraits, such as the portrait of the Marquesa de Pontejos, executed about the year 1788.

That Goya had already attained complete mastery over his technique is shown by the refined harmonies of Maria Ignacia's pink dress. The sensitive handling of the delicate material recalls the shimmering silks and satins of Gainsborough or Watteau. Goya loved to paint, and executed with consummate skill, the mantillas, the fluttering ribbons, the lace frills and ruffles of the feminine costume. His refined and subtle treatment of transparent whites is nowhere more evident than in the dress of the child Maria Augustina. Truth to nature was the keynote of his individual style. "Teachers confuse their pupils," he said, "by making them draw year after year with their best-sharpened pencils almond-shaped eyes, mouths like bows, noses like the figure seven reversed, and oval heads. Why not give them nature for a model? that is the best drawing master." Like Velasquez, he was constantly preoccupied with problems of color, light, and atmosphere. "In nature," he claimed, "color does not exist any more than line. There are only light and shade. Give me a bit of charcoal and I shall paint you a picture. The entire secret of painting consists in the profound study of the object and in surety of execution."

But Goya's study of nature was more than objective. He probed to the uttermost depths the soul of his models and all his portraits show a powerful grasp of character. His cold, merciless analysis of the amiable and irresponsible Charles IV, the sensual Queen Maria Louisa, the graceful Duchess of Alba, Godoy, Floridablanca, and other important personages of court and society leaves no doubt as to the character and personality of his sitters. The peaceful mood of the Lehman picture is disturbed by none of the nervous restlessness which appears in so much of his work. The tender spirit of motherhood is admirably expressed in the refined, simple head of the countess and the innocence of childhood in the small figure of Maria Augustina. Goya was passionately fond of children; he himself had twenty, only one of whom survived him, and the death of his numerous offspring was one of the great sorrows of his life. That he understood children is shown in such other paintings as the angels in the church of San Antonio de la Florida, the tiny infant held in the arms of Doña Luisa in the family portrait of Charles IV, and the small girl, Doña Clara, in the Rothschild collection at Paris. The only artist who has equalled Goya in the sympathetic portrayal of children is his predecessor, Velasquez.<sup>2</sup>

Goya's execution, however, is seldom uniform, and the beauty of his work is often marred by haste and carelessness. Frequently the backgrounds have worked through the flesh tones, and many of his canvases are to-day in a state of complete ruin owing to the use

<sup>1</sup>All the portraits now in the Bank of Spain were exhibited at the Goya exhibition held at Madrid in 1900. The portrait of the Count of Altamira was listed in the catalogue as no. 24.

<sup>2</sup>Goya frequently remarked that his only masters were "Nature, Velasquez, and Rembrandt."



FIG. 18—MADRID, BANK OF SPAIN: PORTRAIT OF THE COUNT OF  
ALTAMIRA BY GOYA



FIG. 19—NEW YORK, COLLECTION OF MR. PHILIP LEHMAN: PORTRAIT OF AN UNKNOWN MAN  
BY CORNEILLE DE LYON







of inferior pigments. Relying on the inspiration of the moment, he often betrayed in his technique his erratic and temperamental disposition. At times he followed the plodding and meticulous methods of Raphael Mengs, and on other occasions he painted with a swift, bold brush, completing a picture within one or two hours. On the back of an inferior portrait of the Infante Don Luis appears the inscription: "A portrait of the Señor, which Don F. Goya made between nine and twelve on the morning of the day of 11 September 1783." And on the profile portrait of Doña Maria Theresa Vallabriga is written: "Portrait which Don F. Goya made between eleven and twelve on the morning of 27 August 1783." In the Lehman portrait we see none of the frenzied haste or uneven execution which characterize so much of Goya's early work. From the standpoint of craftsmanship as well as of psychological insight he appears here at his highest level of excellence.

#### (4) Two Portraits by Corneille de Lyon

Corneille de Lyon, who bore the title of "*peintre du roi*" under Henry II and Charles IX, is represented in the Lehman collection by two characteristic portraits. The first of the two panels has not yet been identified (Fig. 19). The unknown sitter, who appears to be about forty years of age, is shown to the waist with head turned slightly to the left. He wears a black velvet cap and a brown coat of heavy material which is buttoned down the front. The white collar can be seen at the neck, and a thin line of white appears at the edge of the sleeve. He has dark brown hair and a reddish-brown beard and moustache. The left hand is shown against the breast but the right hand is not seen. The background is green. This small panel (.167 x .14 m.) was formerly in the collections of M. Leopold Goldschmidt and the Count of Sartiges at Paris.

The second of these two pictures (Fig. 20) has been identified as a portrait of François de Coligny, Seigneur d'Andelot. He is shown below the shoulders and is turned three-quarters to the left. He has a light brown beard and moustache and wears a dark green cap with white ostrich plume. His dark green velvet doublet is trimmed with yellow braid in a guilloche pattern and on his brown sleeves the braid forms narrow stripes. The high collar is edged with lace and fastened at the right with two bows. The figure is relieved against a pale green background. Nothing is known of the provenance of this diminutive panel (.173 x .131 m.) beyond the fact that it was formerly, like the preceding, in the collections of M. Leopold Goldschmidt and the Count of Sartiges.

François de Coligny, Seigneur d'Andelot, who is represented in this panel, was a younger brother of Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France. He was born at Châtillon-sur-Loing on April 18, 1521, the son of Gaspard, Seigneur of Froment and Châtillon.<sup>1</sup> But his relationship, through his mother, with the Montmorencys overshadowed the Coligny traditions, and François and his illustrious brothers were better known as the nephews of one of the most powerful personalities of this period, Anne of Montmorency, Constable and Peer of France.

From 1530 to 1546 François lived at the Valois court, where his mother was lady-in-waiting to Queen Eleanor and where he became a favorite with the dauphin. Then began his brilliant life as a soldier, rendered more exciting by the quarrels with illustrious per-

<sup>1</sup>The house of Coligny traced its origin back to the territory of Bresse, forty miles north-west of Geneva, where lay the castle and domain of Coligny. During the Middle Ages it was subject to the power of Savoy, but in 1437 the head of the house married Catherine of Saligny, who brought the castle of Châtillon-sur-Loing, and the family interests centered thereafter in France. For a full discussion of the Coligny family see A. W. Whitehead, *Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France*, London, 1904, where earlier bibliography is cited.

sonages into which his obstinate and passionate temper led him.<sup>1</sup> A long captivity in Italy, from which he was released in 1556, played an important rôle in his career; "having no other exercise he set himself to reading and had all kinds of books brought and in this manner learned the new religion (Calvinism)." With his brother, Gaspard,<sup>2</sup> Protestantism became an even greater passion than with François himself, and when, upon the accession of Francis II, the Catholic Guises came into power, the Colignys openly supported the cause of the Huguenots.<sup>3</sup> The influence of the brothers upon the queen mother and the new king was a constant source of irritation to the Guise faction. "The Cardinal of Châtillon (the third brother), the admiral, and Andelot are continually in the palace," reported Chantonnay, "When once the gates are open, the king and queen mother are never without one of them. Already this has attracted attention and raised a fear that little by little they may spread the opinions with which they are generally said to be infected."<sup>4</sup>

On behalf of the Huguenot cause the Colignys took an active part in the three civil wars,<sup>5</sup> and before the termination of the third, François died suddenly (May 7, 1569) at

<sup>1</sup>Together with his brother Gaspard he fought in the campaign of 1543 in Flanders and took part in the wars which filled the last years of Francis I and the early reign of Henry II. In 1547 Gaspard was appointed Colonel-General of the French Infantry and François was constantly with him until July, 1551. In this year he left for Italy. He had scarcely arrived in Parma, where he was appointed "*lieutenant pour le roy contre les gens de l'empereur*," when during a sortie for provisions he fell into an ambush and was interned in the castle of Milan.

<sup>2</sup>At this time Gaspard was one of the greatest personages of France. In addition to being Knight of the Order and captain of fifty lances, he was acting Colonel-General of the Infantry, Admiral of France, Governor of the Isle of France, and Governor of Picardy. The war between France and Spain, which had been interrupted by the truce of Vaucelles, began again in June, 1558, and the attack was directed against Picardy, of which the admiral was the governor. During the heroic siege of St. Quentin Andelot, who on his return from Italy had been appointed Colonel-General of the Infantry, came to his brother's assistance. On the 10th of August he entered the town with five hundred men, and in the final attack he was in command of one of the breaches where he kept up a successful and heroic defense. After the capture of the town by the Spaniards his brother was seized and sent to the fortress of Sluys, but Andelot was able to effect his escape through his knowledge of Spanish, acquired during his captivity in Milan.

<sup>3</sup>According to Granvella, Andelot was a "Lutheran of the Lutherans." "He never heard mass, and lived a most wicked life, so that, if these Châtillons did not change their tune, they should be made to pay the cost." A letter, written by Andelot to his brother during Gaspard's captivity in Flanders, exhorting him to persevere in his faith, was intercepted by Philip II of Spain, who gave this to the Cardinal of France. Andelot was summoned before Henry II, who openly accused him of his Huguenot practices and of having sent his brother a Calvinistic tract. "Thrice the king charged, thrice Andelot justified. At last, in an outburst of passion, Henry ordered him to retire, when he was at once hurried to prison. But though he had bearded the king, he was not proof against steady pressure. After a time his wife and Odet had their way. He consented to be present at mass, and was liberated."

<sup>4</sup>On November 20, 1563, Gaspard, Odet, and Andelot with a large following rode into Paris with the court, and the admiral went to the Louvre to take up his residence with the king. According to the Ambassador of Ferrara, the admiral was one of the first to enter the king's chamber and assist at the dressing. On another occasion, when the king went to mass outside the Louvre, Coligny, Andelot, and Condé walked up and down somewhat ostentatiously in full view of the public. Of their influence with the king and queen mother Granvella wrote from Brussels on December 5th: "I know that while the admiral has been away at court, he and his brothers have hardly ever been away from the king's side, endeavoring by pestiferous talk to incite him to think ill of priests and ecclesiastics. And to this end they read him storybooks such as *Pantagruel* and others, full of jests on the things of Holy Church and the ecclesiastical order—which is the way in which the sacramentalists corrupted King Edward of England." The Spanish ambassador gave an even more detailed account. "This king," he said, "shows the admiral great consideration and favor. He jests with him, goes to seek him and Andelot in the room with torches to greet them on Innocents' Day, and after the manner that is in vogue here. The queen pretends and gives out that she does not speak to the Châtillons, and that she treats the Huguenots with great disfavor, and they have to bear with it all. But I see that from morning till night they are about her, and when she retires she speaks with them many hours in secret. Every evening, when all are ordered to withdraw from her chamber, the Châtillons remain until she begins to disrobe; then they pass to that of the Most Christian King, and are with him until he retires and the curtains are drawn for sleep." Catherine, however, is said to have flattered the Colignys and Guises to their faces and to have cursed both behind their backs. On the 26th of August, 1566, Hugh Fitzwilliam, the English representative, wrote of the admiral: "Surely the admiral is of great power and well beloved of all the best soldiers in France . . . and for chivalry these 2 bretherne (Coligny and Andelot) are counted the flowers of France without comparison."

<sup>5</sup>In the civil war which began with the massacre of Vassy Andelot forced the gates of Orleans with a band of Huguenots April, 1562, and this city was used as a base for the Protestant army. In July he went to Heidelberg to raise an army of German mercenaries and later succeeded in leading his army across France in spite of the royal armies that were to bar his passage. He was sick and was brought into Orleans in a litter, but he recovered and took a prominent part in the battle of Dreux (December 18, 1562). The second civil war, which began in 1567, was due in large measure to the fact that at Valery the admiral was carried away by the more impetuous temper of his younger brother, and the Huguenots for a second time determined to resort to force of arms. During the siege of Paris Andelot occupied Poissy and Pontoise and did not take part in the battle of St. Denis (November 10). In the third civil war he was again a conspicuous figure. After an exciting journey from Brittany he reached Poitou and joined in the campaign in Angoulême. At Bassac he fell on a band of Catholics with a squadron of horse and slew Monsalez with his own hand.



FIG. 20—NEW YORK, COLLECTION OF MR. PHILIP LEHMAN: PORTRAIT OF FRANÇOIS DE COLIGNY BY CORNEILLE DE LYON



FIG. 21—THE HAGUE, BACHSTITZ COLLECTION: PORTRAIT OF FRANÇOIS DE COLIGNY BY CORNEILLE DE LYON





Saintes, the victim, possibly, of poison.<sup>1</sup> That his death was welcomed by the queen and the Catholics is shown by a letter which the Spanish ambassador is said to have written to Philip II of Spain: "An Italian offered this queen to kill the Prince of Condé, the admiral, and Andelot from Paris. In the end they put such faith in the said Italian that for six months he has been closeted in a room with a German craftsman he brought here from Strassburg, and he has had him make three bronze figures of the Prince of Condé, the admiral, and Andelot, full of screws in the joints and breasts with which to open and shut them, and work the arms, thighs, faces, and hair, which is very abundant and turns upward. Day after day the said Italian does nothing but study their birth and with an astrolabe turns and unturms the screws. When the Prince of Condé died, they say that his thigh gave clear signs of his death, and the like also happening in the case of Andelot."

Sincere, generous, and brave, and endowed with a strong sense of honor, Andelot was an ideal soldier of the sixteenth century. He was known as the Protestant "*chevalier sans peur*." He was as haughty as Francis of Lorraine and frequently introduced the personal element into differences. He was outspoken and passionate and lacked the diplomatic finesse of his brother, Odet, the cardinal. Odet was by character and training a courtier and diplomat; Andelot was the warrior. Together with their more illustrious brother, Gaspard, the admiral, who was not only an aristocrat but was trusted by the bourgeois and artisans, they contributed to the Protestant cause an unusual combination of martial skill, resourceful leadership, and high distinction.

At one time there must have existed countless portraits of the famous brothers. The diminutive portrait of Andelot in the Lehman collection (Fig. 20) may have been frequently copied. One copy (Fig. 21), now in the Bachstitz collection at the Hague, is almost identical in color, size, and composition.<sup>2</sup> There is the same treatment of hair, beard, and moustache; the cap, with the white feather, and the braid-trimmed doublet, with bows at the collar, are the same as in the Lehman panel. The background, however, which is darker and shades off into black at the edges, is relatively larger, with more space above the head and at the sides. The Bachstitz panel may have been painted by Corneille himself, but it is equally probable that it is a later copy of the Lehman panel. In these works Andelot appears to be in his thirties, which would date the original painting in the last years of the reign of Henry II, between 1550 and 1558.

The finest preserved portrait of Andelot is a drawing (Fig. 22), inscribed at the top DANDELLOT COLLGNY, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The sitter is much older than in the Lehman panel, but the facial resemblance between the two works is obvious. Because of the unusually fine quality of this drawing it was assigned by Bouchot to the hand of François Clouet, but Moreau-Nélaton<sup>3</sup> has recently attributed it to the Protestant painter, Marc Duval. Andelot is seen again in a weaker drawing at Chantilly, executed about 1555, and in a somewhat doubtful panel at Versailles.

<sup>1</sup>Catherine had set a price on the heads of the Colignys, and the royalist, Birague, had stated that "the war could be brought to a speedier close by means of cooks." There was no direct evidence, however, that he was murdered, as was his brother Gaspard.

Andelot was twice married. By his first wife, Claude de Rieux, whom he married March 19, 1547, he had four children: a daughter who died in childhood, 1563; Marguerite, born February 28, 1563, who married Julien de Tournemine, Seigneur de Montreai; Guy-Paul, Count of Laval; and François, Seigneur de Rieux. Claude de Rieux died August 5, 1561, and in 1565 he married again, taking as his second wife Anne de Salme, a widow of Sieur d'Haussonville, who also gave him four children: François, Seigneur de Taulay; Benjamin, Seigneur de Saily and of Courcelles; Anne, who (October 9, 1594) became the wife of Jacques Chabot, marquis of Mirebeau; and Suzanne, the future baroness of Outre.

<sup>2</sup>*Catalogue of the Bachstitz Collection*, I, pl. 13. This panel was formerly in the collection of F. von Gans at Frankfurt am Main.

<sup>3</sup>Étienne Moreau-Nélaton, *Les Clouet et leurs Émules*, Paris, 1924, I, fig. 73, p. 167. The writer has carefully studied the various portrait drawings of the Colignys.

The drawing of Andelot in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Fig. 22) was undoubtedly a study for the group portrait of the three Coligny brothers, which is the best-known work of Marc Duval (Fig. 23).<sup>1</sup> This group portrait exists in several media and in many copies. It was produced again by Duval in an engraving, dated 1579, and this was frequently copied, as in a poor chalk drawing at Chantilly, a life-size painting at the Hague, and another in the collection of Lord Sackville at Knole. Forgeries of the engraving were sent broadcast throughout Europe, especially to countries which had adopted the Reform, and served as a posthumous glorification of the three brothers, who had given their lives in a vain attempt to establish the Protestant faith on French soil.

<sup>1</sup>François stands on the right, facing three-quarters to the left. He holds a piece of paper in the right hand and the left hand rests on the guard of his sword. He wears a short jacket, pourpoint, and white stockings, and is without a hat. Gaspard, the admiral, who was murdered in the massacre of St. Bartholomew (1572), stands in the middle, and Odet, the cardinal (1517-1571), is on the left. There were originally four brothers, but Peter, the eldest, died in his youth. Odet, who was the second, took orders and was made cardinal in 1533, at the age of sixteen. He was appointed Archbishop of Toulouse in 1534 and in the following year, Bishop of Beauvais and a Peer of France. Numerous portraits of the cardinal are preserved, such as the well-known panel, dated 1548, by François Clouet, now at Chantilly (Moreau-Nélaton, *op. cit.*, I, fig. 27), a doubtful panel by Corneille de Lyon in the Hutteau collection at Paris, and several drawings and studies preserved in the British Museum, the Albertina, the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Uffizi, and at Chantilly and Versailles. For reproductions and notices of some of these see Moreau-Nélaton, *op. cit.* Countless drawings are also preserved of Gaspard, the third brother, who inherited the title and became the head of the house (cf. Moreau-Nélaton, *op. cit.*, I, fig. 72, pp. 167 ff.). A portrait of Gaspard, formerly in the possession of the Beza family and now in the Bibliothèque Publique at Geneva, has been reproduced by Whitehead, *op. cit.*, frontispiece.

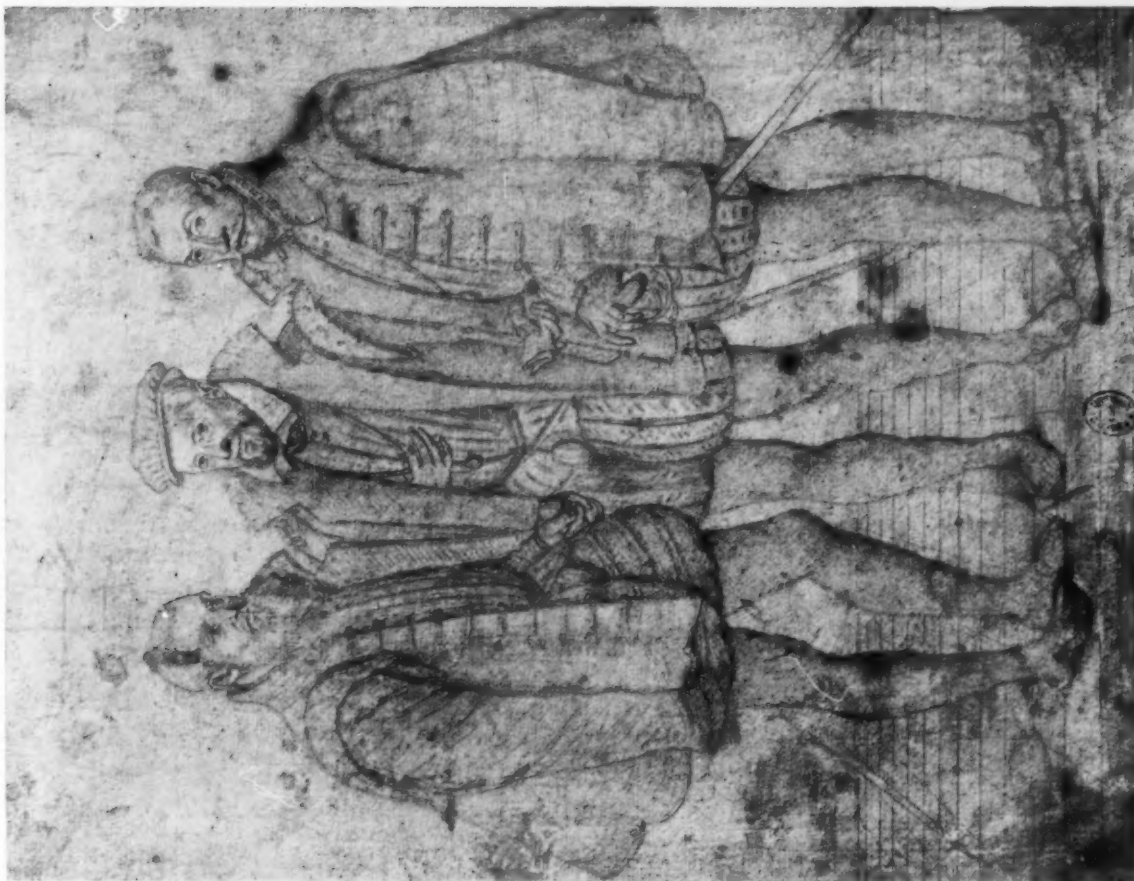


FIG. 23—PARIS, BIBL. NAT.: DRAWING OF THE COLIGNY BROTHERS BY MARC DUVAL



FIG. 22—PARIS, BIBL. NAT.: DRAWING OF FRANÇOIS DE COLIGNY BY MARC DUVAL





## REVIEWS

THE SARCOPHAGUS OF CLAUDIA ANTONIA SABINA AND THE ASIATIC SARCOPHAGI (AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR THE EXCAVATION OF SARDIS. PUBLICATIONS, VOL. V, PT. 1). BY CHARLES RUFUS MOREY. FOLIO, 111 PP., FIGS. PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1924. \$15.00.

In 1901 I published in *Orient oder Rom* the fragment of a sarcophagus found in Constantinople. On it appeared a standing Christ, analogous to the well-known Sophocles, between two, likewise standing, figures holding books, all in a peculiar architectural framework. It is now in Berlin. The architectural framework consists of spiral columns with a projecting cornice carrying a gable. The entablature is entirely covered with motives of ancient ornament worked out in the coloristic "light-and-dark" technique. The search for analogous monuments led out of Christian art back to a group of pagan sarcophagi which derived from Asia and not, as had formerly been ordinarily supposed, from Rome. Although no other Christian example has yet been found, the number of known pagan sarcophagi has grown so much in the intervening twenty years that the need has seemed ever more pressing for an exhaustive study of this Asia Minor group and of its significance in the history of art.

This task has now been undertaken by Charles Rufus Morey of Princeton University, whose work has appeared in magnificent form in the publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis. Princeton University has thereby added to its publications of valuable architectural documents from Central Syria a masterpiece of exact scholarship on a group of monuments to which the excavations of the late H. C. Butler at Sardis have unexpectedly added a monumental example, which can be certainly dated between 185 and 195 A. D.

Morey begins with a survey of the bibliography to date. Then he introduces his material in the form of a catalogue of types. He isolates first the main type with three aediculae and distinguishes it from a Lydian type, with figures distributed along without separation, and from a third type, with five arcades. There are, further, three minor groups as well as the Western imitations of these originals of the art of Asia Minor. Next comes the discussion of the individual types of figures employed in the Lydian group and in the main one. The derivation of the figures is investigated through the use of comparative material. In fact the material is so rich that one is amazed, as one is also by the penetrating criticism which differentiates the more Hellenistic and Roman character of the Lydian group from the more Anatolian character of the main group. With this publication classical archaeology is enriched by a store of material of a late antique style which strikingly contrasts with that of Alexandria and Rome. I can only express my admiration at the conscientious achievement of Morey.

Perhaps I may be permitted to make a slight contribution to the subject. Not long ago I found in the Museum of Croatian Antiquities at Knin in Dalmatia the fragment of a sarcophagus from Serniza, twenty kilometers south of Knin, and presumably coming from ancient Stridon. This fragment is the corner of such a stone sarcophagus as Morey has been studying. It is 0.24 m. long on either side but only 0.17 m. high. One side is left rough. On the other side appear the typical features of a sarcophagus of Asia Minor.

In a conched niche stands a bearded figure (the face broken away) wrapped in a mantle which is thrown back over the left shoulder, passes around the body, and is thrown over the left arm. The left hand holds a roll. We have therefore that figure which Morey illustrates in his Fig. 106 and calls Type 2, and which recalls so strongly the Christian type adopted for St. Peter. The architectural decoration also corresponds throughout with that of the sarcophagi of Asia Minor. The frieze that runs around the conched niche has the horizontal dentals and runs to the left into a gable with acroteria. The piece is unusually small.

As to the main body of ancient sarcophagi of this type I should like to call attention to the danger of giving them the abbreviated label *Asiatic*, for there are other groups of Asiatic sarcophagi, such as the Antiochene garland sarcophagi. In time additional types will appear, Christian ones, whenever we are able to follow out the threads that lead from Achthamar. But this is a matter of the Christian period. Since the Christian example that I once took as the basis of my investigations remains unique, it is so subordinate that Morey's whole book might have been written without reference to the one exception.

Morey tries to arrange the sarcophagi in a dated series extending from 160 to 400 A. D., thus placing the Christian example about this latter date. He has done this without taking up the matter of the Mschatta façade (*Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XXV, 1904) or the debate about the date of the Christian monuments of Mesopotamia (*Persischer Hellenismus in christlicher Zierkunst, Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XLI). My article *Der Silberkelch von Antiochia, Römischer und vorderasiatischer Zeilansatz altchristlicher Denkmäler* (*Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst*, I, 1924) is too recent for Morey to have known it. Thus he disregards S. Reinach's and my earlier dating and agrees with Wulff. Meanwhile we have in the building at Nisibis dated 337 a certain *point d'appui*. Accordingly Mschatta as well as the sarcophagus in Berlin must be of earlier date. This Mesopotamian material shows relations with the sarcophagi of Asia Minor as the chalice of Antioch does with Mschatta. It is important to note that for these latter with vine decoration there is convincing evidence of early derivation, as I have attempted to set forth in my book *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung*. I believe we have in the sarcophagi of Asia Minor and those churches of Mesopotamia that are related in their decorative scheme an essentially pre-Constantinian group, just as we have another group in the work of the Mschatta façade and the chalice of Antioch. Both groups are thoroughly in the spirit of Iranian and Mazdaic art. In fact they represent it better than do the Buddhistic monuments of Gandhara in which the two artistic traditions, both working with the human form, of those northerners who had pushed down into the southern peninsulas, the Greeks and the East Indians, reached their remarkable compromise. Pure Iranian art, however, is at heart symbolical decoration such as has been preserved to us in the blind arcades of the sarcophagi of Asia Minor and the façade of Mschatta, representing two distinct types of the decoration of monuments with the Havernah.

As evidence of my view, let us examine more closely the principal motive in the design of our sarcophagi. A characteristic of the main group and of some of the lesser groups of the sarcophagi of Asia Minor is the blind arcade, which is worked out in more or less classical fashion. I must confess that following the direction which I have already taken in earlier publications, particularly in that on Mschatta, I feel constantly more convinced that we have in the blind arcade further evidence of the Iranian origin of this whole manner of decoration. Originally I was influenced in my belief only by the "light-and-dark" treatment with the drill. The Mschatta façade and Coptic objects were the basis of my argument and subsequently Iranian stuccoes brought definite proof. The

significance of the niche struck me first in connection with ancient Slavic monuments, particularly those of Dalmatia. There one is impressed by the constant repetition of blind niches in architecture itself as well as in all manner of decoration. They are most striking perhaps in those reliefs of the youth of Christ at Zadar which are ordinarily reckoned as the ugliest things that we have in the way of the representation of the human figure. As a matter of fact we have to do with the oldest attempts at figure sculpture on the part of a northern people which has migrated to the south. If we take into consideration that these "Croatian" immigrants into the Balkans from the northeast came from a region which had certainly had for centuries the closest contact with the great art of Iran, we shall not be surprised at the appearance of the blind arcade, especially if we see in it one of those symbols of the Havernah of which I have spoken in my book *Origin of Christian Church Art*. The sarcophagi of Asia Minor are a half millenium older and stand much nearer to the art of Iran than does the Slavic sculpture. Even in Dalmatia it is striking with what persistency blind arcades are used both on the outside of the churches and in the decoration of choir screens and sarcophagi. The same thing can be observed in Armenia, where the Mazdaic influence is quite apparent. In future, we must give special attention to the possibility of a symbolic meaning of the blind arcade as the sign of the greatness and omnipotence of God. When this matter is cleared up, we shall be in a position to measure more exactly the influence of the *scena frons*, which I first regarded as the fundamental inspiration for the decoration of the sarcophagi of Asia Minor.

Joseph Strzygowski

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GREEK AND ROMAN SCULPTURE IN AMERICAN COLLECTIONS. BY GEORGE H. CHASE. 222 PP., ILLUSTRATED. HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS.

One who expects to find in this book merely a *catalogue raisonné* of classical sculpture in America—and the title might induce such a conclusion—will be joyously disappointed. It is in fact an appreciation of classical sculpture from the historical point of view, with illustrations drawn as far as possible from material in this country. In an orderly way, through the eight chapters of the book, one follows the development of the art of sculpture from the archaic Greek period, by way of the period of Transition, the Great Age, and the Hellenistic period to Roman days.

Possibly because the book is confessedly an aggregation of a series of lectures delivered before the Lowell Institute, which draws for its audiences upon the layman, the approach lacks the dust which unfortunately so often overspreads works which might claim to be as scholarly as this. Professor Chase's own intimate familiarity with his theme, his fondness for it, and his precision of fact in connection with it have undoubtedly gone far to make his book one of the most satisfying and readable appreciations of classic art.

Dr. Chase seems to have had some creepy feelings of fear in assuming that there are enough evidences of Greek and Roman Art in America to serve as a basis upon which to build an appreciative history of classic sculpture—and, I confess, I felt somewhat the same sensations. But he has wrought valiantly and has, in his list of illustrations, marshalled one hundred and forty-six, out of two hundred and sixty-two, examples of ancient sculpture resident in our country. Doubtless there are more. In some places the ice has been pretty thin, but by dexterous craftsmanship, Professor Chase has been able to win through



from the early to the last days of the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome.

After saying all this I hesitate to be captious; but my New England conscience compels me to say that I wish that Dr. Chase had not attempted to convey the idea that we know enough about Calamis to suggest that we can identify his style. Professor Chase unfortunately has many companions in this habit of striving to associate existing works with empty names. But the evidence upon which such allocations are made is very weak. "Grace" is an extremely intangible characteristic and it becomes much more intangible when it is described as "nameless."

I hope I have made it clear that this criticism is but a bit of foam blown about over the surface. The book is beautifully done. It is scholarly, and, best of all, readable.

Oliver S. Tonks



## NOTES

### FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

The fourteenth annual meeting of the College Art Association of America was held, in conjunction with the meetings of the Archaeological Institute of America, the American Philological Association, and the Federated Council on Art Education, at the University of Chicago and the Art Institute of Chicago, on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, December 29-31, 1924.

### PROGRAM

#### MONDAY, DECEMBER 29

1.30 P. M. Meeting of the Executive Board in Room 36, Classics Building, University of Chicago

2.00 P. M. Public Meeting in Room 17, Haskell Museum, University of Chicago

*The New Harvard Art Museum*

PAUL J. SACHS, Harvard University

*North and South in the History of American Art*

(Submitted by JOSEF STREYGOWSKI, University of Vienna)

#### BUSINESS

Visits to the Collections of Mr. Martin A. Ryerson and of Mr. and Mrs. Francis Neilson

4.30-6.00 P. M. Tea in the Classics Building, Rooms 20 and 21

7.00 P. M. Dinner of the Visiting Associations as Guests of the University in Hutchinson Hall, University of Chicago, Gordon Jennings Laing, Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Literature, Presiding

*Address of Welcome*

ERNEST DEWITT BURTON, President of the University of Chicago

*Response*

JOHN SHAPLEY, President of the College Art Association

*The Muse, the Poet, and the Grammarian (Annual Address)*

SAMUEL ELIOT BASSETT, President of the American Philological Association

#### TUESDAY, DECEMBER 30

10.00 A. M. Public Joint Meeting with the Federated Council on Art Education at the Art Institute of Chicago

*The Comprehensive Examination, Report of the Committee on Standards*

ALICE V. V. BROWN, Wellesley College

*A Masterpiece of Delacroix*

ALFRED V. CHURCHILL, Smith College

*Progress Made by the Educational Committee of the American Institute of Architects*

GEORGE C. NIMMONS, Chicago

*Present Tendencies in Art Museum Service*

CHARLES F. KELLEY, Art Institute of Chicago

2.00 P. M. Visit to the Scriptorium of Mr. C. L. Ricketts

3.00 P. M. Visits to the Collections of Mr. Frank G. Logan and of Mr. and Mrs. Potter Palmer

4.30-6.00 P. M. Tea in the Classics Building, Rooms 20 and 21

7.30 P. M. Dinner of the Visiting Associations as Guests of the Chicago Society of the Archaeological Institute at the Hotel Sherman, Roy C. Flickinger, President of the Chicago Society, Presiding

*The Lecture System of the Institute in Retrospect and Prospect*

RALPH VAN DEMAN MAGOFFIN, President of the Archaeological Institute

*Golden Deeds of Egyptian Excavators*

JEAN CAPART, Cinquantenaire Museum, Visiting Professor on the Educational Foundation of the Commission for Relief in Belgium

*The University of Michigan Excavations at Pisidian Antioch and Sizma*

DAVID MOORE ROBINSON, Johns Hopkins University

## WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 31

**9.30 A. M.** Public Joint Meeting with the Archaeological Institute in Room M-11, Harper Memorial Library, University of Chicago

*A Bust of Lorenzo de' Medici in the Collection of Mr. Clarence H. Mackay*  
CLARENCE KENNEDY, Smith College

*Beads of the Aurignacian Age from the Dordogne District, France; Rock Carvings of the Magdalenian Age from the Cave, Limeuil, Dordogne District, France*  
GEORGE L. COLLIE, Beloit College

*Origins of Early Christian Painting*  
CLARK LAMBERTON, Western Reserve University

*A Test in Art Appreciation*  
ERWIN O. CHRISTENSEN and THEODORE KARWOSKI, University of North Dakota

*Opportunity for Study of Ancient and Mediaeval History in the Museum of Brussels*  
JEAN CAPART, University of Liège

**2.00 P. M.** Public Meeting in Room 17, Haskell Museum, University of Chicago

*The Correlation of the History with the Practice of Art*  
LORADO TAFT, Midway Studios

*The Correlation of the Criticism with the Practice of Art*  
WALTER SARGENT, University of Chicago

*Laboratory Aids in Teaching the Co-ordination of the Criticism and Practice of Painting*  
JOHN S. ANKENY, University of Missouri

*The Aesthetic Attitude in College Art Courses*  
ALFRED H. BARR, Harvard University

Visit to the Midway Studios

## MINUTES

The report of the Committee on Standards, providing for a system of comprehensive examinations in the history of art, was accepted, with provision for questions involving a knowledge of laboratory work.

On approval of the auditing committee, the following report of the Secretary-Treasurer for 1924 was accepted: Receipts, Dec., 1923-Dec., 1924, \$1,369.00; expenditures, Dec., 1923-Dec., 1924, \$2,602.16; deficit, Dec., 1923-Dec., 1924, \$1,233.16; outstanding deficit, Dec., 1923, \$1,665.80; total deficit, Dec., 1924, \$2,898.96.

A resolution was voted empowering the president to appoint a committee for co-operation with the Federated Council on Art Education.

A resolution was voted in memory of Professor Alan Marquand.

A resolution was voted thanking those who had contributed to the entertainment of the association and the success of the meeting.

The following report of the Committee on Nominations was adopted:

President.....	John Shapley
Vice-President.....	Alfred V. Churchill
Secretary-Treasurer.....	J. Donald Young
Directors.....	Walter Sargent
	Alice V. V. Brown